AN ESSAY ON VIRGIL's Celebrated *Gates of Sleep.*

CONTAINING

Beſides a very particular Enquiry into this intricate Subject, as well as into HOMER's Similar Gates, a Solution of VIRGIL's *Falſo damnati crimine mortis*; and at the cloſe of it a true Key to the *Æneis*.

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THE Introduction.

AS I cannot ſuppoſe that this performance will excite the curioſity of any perſon, who is a ſtranger either to the Author, or the nature of the fiction that has given riſe to it; ſo by reaſon of the notoriety of the fact is it hardly needful to obſerve here, that the particular abſurdity of underſtanding Virgil, as ſpeaking of *falſe Viſions* in one part of this his fiction (and conſequently as intending by the paſſage of Æneas thro' the gate appropriated to *them*, to tell us, that all he had been ſaying, was no better than an idle tale) has been expoſed with great juſtneſs, and a becoming warmth, by the very learned and reverend Mr. *Warburton*[a], who in this, as in every ſubject

[a] Div. Legat. vi. p. 236.

he handles, has ſhewn us, what good ſenſe, directed by a ſincere love of Truth, is capable of performing.

But in juſtification of myſelf, and as a hint to the Reader what he may expect, it is requiſite to note, that tho' it be more than probable, the common receiv'd Opinion is by this time diſcarded by all who have a taſte for propriety, and know how to diſtinguiſh between Truth and Falſhood: Yet whether any thing better has been hit upon to ſupply its place, and whether the other part of the fiction relating to the *Horny Gate*, is at all underſtood, this may ſtill be made a doubt of, notwithſtanding what the learned Gentleman abovementioned has been pleaſed to attempt in this way. Or at leaſt conſidering, that all Enquiries have hitherto been confined to Generals, it may be ſaid with great truth, and without offence to any, that there is ſeemingly a neceſſity of offering at a particular explanation of this matter in all its parts, that ſo we may have a chance of knowing, not barely what it was the Poet did *not*, but what he poſitively did intend in this maſterpiece of invention. And tho' it becomes me not to pronounce the following Eſſay to have certainly compaſs'd the end, yet thus much I dare ſay of it, beforehand, that it employs the proper

and

and likelieſt means to come at it, as the Reader will be ſure to find nothing here, but what ſeems to me to follow with great clearneſs, and the ſtrongeſt of probabilities from the very words that compoſe the paſſage in queſtion. *At*

Pergite Pierides.

Sunt geminæ ſomni portæ, quarum altera fertur Virg. Æn. vi. 893.
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus Umbris:
Altera, candenti perfecta nitens Elephanto;
Sed falſa ad Cœlum mittunt inſomnia Manes.

§. 1. IT is natural for one that is about to commit his thoughts to paper, to aſk himſelf in the words of Ulyſſes [b], τί πρῶτον, τί δ' ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω? It is eaſy too for a Man of the leaſt thought, to pitch upon a plan that ſhall take in his obſervations: But not ſo eaſy to hit upon that method of inditing, which may keep the ſubject in a growing and improving ſtate; prepare the Reader for ſucceſſive beauties; and fill him at laſt with a clear ſenſe and juſt conception of the whole. To ſay the truth, *hoc opus, hic labor eſt.* The mind is apt

[b] Odyſſ. i. 14.

to

to fix on one point of view, and under that biaſs becomes careleſs, if Pelion be heap'd on Oſſa, ſo the way bids fair for ſeizing Heaven.

§. 2. I would not, if I could help it, be guilty of ſo great abſurdity, nor furniſh out an inſtance of it in this performance: Not ſo much on my own account; as that my Author, for whom too much regard cannot be had, may not ſuffer by my unſkilfulneſs, nor the Reader's time and attention be miſpent in the fruitleſs peruſal of what, for ſuch confuſion, cou'd deſerve no better name, than that of *rudis indigeſtaque moles.*

§. 3. I ſhall therefore beg leave to relinquiſh the order in which the fiction is convey'd, and to proceed, as to me ſeems fitteſt for my purpoſe: The more; as I am fully convinc'd, that all the impenetrableneſs, under which this paſſage was thought to be conceal'd, has been in a great meaſure occaſion'd by Interpreters not attending to the ſucceſſion of Ideas, and not riſing in their inveſtigations from fixt and determined principles to ſuch other points, as ſeem indeed, when taken ſeparately, of more doubtful ſignification, but will be found, I believe, to be equally clear, when placed in that connexion and dependence, I apprehend, they ſhou'd be conſider'd in. To begin then.

§. 4. It

§. 4. It is agreed on all hands, that by INSOMNIA we ſhou'd underſtand *Viſions*, as indeed this is the conſtant meaning of the word; which I might therefore have declined ſaying any thing to, but that we are not always careful to attend to the diſtinction between Viſions and Dreams, *Inſomnia* and *Somnia*. Beſides that learned Men [c] have even given a handle for thinking there is no ſuch difference, by having taught that theſe words are promiſcuouſly uſed for each other: When, to prevent miſtakes, they ſhould have added, that as often as this happens, the latter word puts on the ſignification of the former, but not contrariwiſe the former that of the latter. This wou'd have been ſpeaking with exactneſs; and wou'd have led every common Reader to obſerve, that the Ancients were abundantly juſtified in what they did herein, ſince the latter word, as a generical expreſſion, includes the other.

[c] Comm. ad Sil. Ital. x. 349.

§. 5. I wiſh there was no need of a larger induction of particulars, to determine in what ſenſe Viſions are here ſaid to be FALSA. I cou'd even wiſh, for the ſake of many, otherwiſe very ingenious writers, that Virgil had thought proper to uſe any other epithet. We ſhou'd not then, perhaps, have had ſo much offer'd towards

towards an explication of this paſſage, and ſo little to the purpoſe. However, there is no help for it now: And all we have to do, is not to be ſparing in our endeavours, but to endeavour to ſpare our Author, by not giving into our own conceits, and ſo making free with his good ſenſe and ingenuity.

§. 6. To this end it will be of ſervice to conſider, that theſe Viſions are expreſly ſaid to be *ſent*; and further, that they muſt be underſtood to come from *the Regions below*, both becauſe of the *ſituation* of the Gate on the out-ſkirts of the Elyſium, and the *courſe (ad cælum)* they are made to ſteer. For hence it becomes plain, that when they are call'd *falſe*, it cannot be intended to repreſent them as things that have no exiſtence, meer imaginations and fancies, like to the *ægri ſomnia*, of which Horace and others ſpeak, or like to thoſe impulſes Enthuſiaſts are paſſing upon themſelves and others for realities. There cou'd be nothing thought of, more inconſiſtent with the conſtant difference judicious Writers make between extraordinary impreſſions and ill-grounded reveries [d]; nor any thing deviſed more contrary to our Poet's meaning, which evidently is to deſcribe the Viſions he here ſpeaks of, as effects of an *external* influence, and

[d] Curtius iii. 3.

con-

conſequently effects *truly* produced in the mind by the inſtrumentality of outward Cauſes.

§. 7. The ſubjects, therefore, in whom theſe repreſentations are made, are abſolutely out of the queſtion, with regard to any *efficiency* in this matter: And the *falſhood*, if any can be aſcribed to theſe inward ſenſations, muſt, by the *expreſs* determination of the Poet, be wholly charged on the *Agents*, he tells us, were concern'd in *raiſing*, or *ſending* ſuch Viſions; that is, theſe extraordinary Influences muſt, if the *ſtrict* ſenſe of falſhood be kept to, be conſider'd as *Illuſions*; things that are of no ſignificancy at all, either as to preſent or after events; meer ſports and impoſitions; ſent on purpoſe to deceive or affright, and not to inform. How juſtly, will be beſt underſtood, by conſidering a little who thoſe Beings are, of whom theſe things are to be conceiv'd.

§. 8. I am not ignorant that the word MANES is of very large and various uſe; inſomuch that it is often no eaſy matter to determine the preciſe ſenſe of it [c]. It is very frequently to be underſtood of the *Souls* of dead Men in general, without any further diſtinction: Sometimes of *ſuch* of them as were *deified*, of which the hiſtory of the *Cæſars*

[c] Salmaſ. ad Solin. p. 412. Barth. ad Stat. Theb. p. 1088.

affords inſtances: Sometimes of *tutelary Deities*, that went alſo under the name of *Genii* and *Lares* [f]; often of *Cacodæmons*, (of whom more hereafter): Frequently of *infernal Beings* in general [g]: and ſometimes of that *particular ſort* of them, whoſe peculiar province it was to inflict the puniſhments awarded to the *Shades* by the Infernal Judges [h].

[f] Heinſ. ad Sil. Ital. ii. 592.

[g] Virg. Georg. iv. 469, 489, 505. Æn. iv. 387. vi. 743. x. 39. xi. 820. xii. 646. & Sil. Ital. xiii. 536, 664.

[h] Homer. ad λ. 586. Virg. Æn. vi. 743.

§. 9. This extent of application has often cauſed no ſmall trouble to Commentators; and has occaſion'd beſides great confuſion in the accounts we meet with, both in ancient and modern Writers, concerning the certain and determined meaning of the word. And yet upon this ſtate of the matter, we may, I think, advance that the Generical ſignification of *Manes* is that of *departed Spirits*, comprehending under it, as its Species, thoſe that were raiſed to certain honours and offices; or that were ſuffered to exert certain powers ſuitable to their natures; or that continued after their deceaſe in the ſame rank and ſubordination they were in when alive.

§. 10. Be that as it will, it is certain, from the above-ſtated variety of acceptations, that it is not poſſible to ſay, what particular Beings, out of the ſeveral ſorts it is applied to, muſt be underſtood, wherever this word happens to be uſed; with-

without attending to the *circumſtances* of deſcription, and gathering thence, if poſſible, ſuch proofs as may determine us in our opinion. I am therefore juſtified in again deſiring the Reader to conſider the *ſituation* of the Gate we are treating of, and the *oppoſition* the words *ad Cælum* point to. For theſe particulars leave us no room to heſitate about the proper meaning of the word in this place. So far otherwiſe, that I ſhould think I was making free with the Reader's time and patience, were I to inſiſt one moment upon proving, that for theſe reaſons *Infernal* Beings, and thoſe only, can be here underſtood.

§. 11. In conſequence of this deduction our Author will be made to ſay, that among other inſtances of operation, the *raiſing of Viſions* was one that belonged to the ſtygian Gods. And this is the very notion the Ancients entertain'd of the matter. Virgil [i] placing Dreams at the entrance of the nether Regions, is a hint that plainly enough points at the common opinion; and what that wants of explicitneſs, is abundantly made up in many direct aſſertions to this purpoſe in ſundry Authors [k]. But that I chooſe to inſiſt upon here, for a particular reaſon, which will preſently appear, is the uſe made of this conceit by the Poets. Thus

[i] Æn. vi. 283. conferHomer. Od. ω. 12. & Ovid. Met. xi. 594.

[k] Tibull. ii. El. 6. v. 37. Propert. iv. El. 7. v. 87.

Mercury, *Somnorum præſes*, as Homer[l], and Virgil[m] deſcribe him, and an *infernal* as well as celeſtial Deity[a], is by Virgil[b] ſaid to have been *ſeen* by Æneas in his *Sleep*, and to have haſten'd him away from the Lybian Shore for fear of Dido's reſentments: And the *ſame* God is by Silius Italicus[c] repreſented as ſent by Jupiter to Hannibal, *ut — immiſſa rumperet formidine ſomnos*; which he did by converſing with him in his Sleep, and to make him *ſee* the form of a large and hideous Serpent. Thus again, Juno being diſpleaſed at the friendſhip cultivating between King Latin and Æneas, and not leſs at the proſpect there was of the latter's ſettling at laſt in peace and happineſs, after the many fatigues and dangers ſhe had made him undergo, reſolves to break this union and to throw every thing into confuſion. To bring which about ſhe came down from Heaven, and as ſhe had declared, *flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acharonta movebo*[d], ſo ſhe *Luctificam Alecto dirarum ab ſede ſororum, inferiſque ciet tenebris*[e], and gave her in charge, by all manner of means, to effect her purpoſe. The fiend obſequiouſly obey'd; and, among other arts, employ'd that of *Viſion*, by which Turnus was ſpirited into rage and revenge[f]. But the God oftneſt employ'd

l Il ω. 343, 445. Od. E. 47. ω. 4. hymn. in Mercur. verſ. 14, 575.

m Æn. iv. 242, 555.

a Homer. hymn. in Mercur. v. 569. confer. Heinſ. ad Sil. Ital. iii. 181.

b Æn. iv. 555.

c iii. 168.

d Æn. vii. 312.

e Ibid. 324.

f Ibid. 414. & x. 39.

on

on errands of this ſort was the God of *Sleep*, whom all Poets, [g] therefore, have introduc'd at various times upon theſe occaſions, but none more beautifully than Ovid, as the Reader may convince himſelf by turning to the paſſage [h] here referr'd to.

[g] Homer. Il. ε. 6. & ξ. 233. & Sil. Ital. x. 344.

[h] Met. xi. 584.

§. 12. Upon this ſtate of the matter, I am tempted to offer it as a queſtion, whether it might not with good ground be inferr'd, that thoſe other inſtances of *Viſions* we meet with in all ſorts of Authors, tho' ſeemingly effected by the intervention of *other* Deities, ought not however to be aſcribed to the inſtrumentality of the ſame *infernal* Beings, appearing under a *borrowed* ſhape? I own I am inclined to eſpouſe the affirmative; both becauſe the inſtances here hinted at, barely relate the *matter* of the Viſions, and not their *cauſes*, and therefore afford no argument againſt this conjecture; and becauſe it ſeems hard to conceive, why the Poets ſhou'd have been at ſo much *unneceſſary* trouble in bringing Deities down from the ſkies, and raiſing others from the ſhades below, if they had thought the management of theſe *nocturnal* tranſactions might with *equal* propriety have been aſcribed to *other* Beings. The upper and middle Regions cou'd have furniſh'd them with different kinds

of

of Agents, as well fitted for their purpoſe, as thoſe they have employ'd with ſo much care, and ſuch plain marks of peculiarity and appropriation.

§. 13. If this were admitted, the argument wou'd conclude much more irreſiſtibly. It wou'd prove directly, that *none* but infernal Deities cou'd be meant in the paſſage we are upon, and wou'd ſo far forth be a corroborating circumſtance: Tho', whether this conſtruction be allow'd or no, it is ſtill evident, that *Viſions* are at leaſt *as much* the province of thoſe Beings as of others; and conſequently, that by taking the word *Manes* in the ſenſe I am contending for, and is ſufficiently clear from *other* particulars[1], nothing is maintain'd, that is not abundantly ſupported by the general voice of Antiquity.

[1] *See* §. 10.

§ 14. We are then no more at liberty to underſtand, whom we pleaſe, by the *Manes*. They are the *Dii Inferi*, and no other. And to accuſe theſe of having been concern'd in deceptions and illuſions, I truſt, will, upon due conſideration, be found inconſiſtent with many clear points of heatheniſh Theology and poetic Fiction.

§. 15. Thus, among the various inſtances of worſhip paid to the Infernal Deities, that of *Oaths* is at leaſt as common

mon as any other[k]; which act was thought of ſo ſolemn a nature, that even Gods of the firſt Orb, and ſeemingly ſuperior to all others, are found to pay this homage, when they wou'd be underſtood to be moſt in earneſt[l]. A conſideration this, if I am not miſtaken, that abſolutely excludes all ſuſpicion of deceit. For what can this proceeding imply, if not (what Authors too have expreſly declared) that it was thought there was — *Fides tellure ſub ima*[m]; and that the Beings thus appeal'd to, were not only, *quorum*, even Gods, *jurare timent & fallere numen*[a], but *conſcia numina veri*[b]? and ſure to puniſh, ὅ τις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ, *all that ſhall forſwear themſelves*[c]. And can ſuch declarations be made to agree with what others here advance concerning theſe ſame Beings? Is the character of *Veracity* and deteſtation of Falſhood ſo amply aſſerted in theſe particulars, in any manner capable of being ſuited to Agents, whoſe conſtant employment it is ſuppoſed to have been to *delude* and impoſe, where they were ſure to be credited? So far otherwiſe, that if there be no agreement between Light and Darkneſs, neither can there be any between Truth and Falſhood; and what an elegant Writer ſaid on another account, may here with equal juſtneſs

[k] Virg. Æn. xii. 200.

[l] Hom. Il ξ. 274.

[m] Virg. Æn. vi. 458. confer Ovid. Met, x. 19.

[a] Æn. vi 324.

[b] Æn. ii. 141.

[c] Hom. Il. p. 278.

juſtneſs be pronounced, *Non hæc in una ſede morantur.*

§. 16. We ſhall be furniſh'd with another proof to the ſame purpoſe, if we conſider a while the paſſages abovecited [d], to prove the *Manes* to have been thought concern'd in *raiſing* Viſions. For we may obſerve in all of them, and many more that might be added, how theſe Beings are repreſented, not as acting upon their *own* authority, but by *commiſſion* from others; and particularly from the *celeſtial* Deities. This is not a *random* incident, I conceive; for then it wou'd not have been ſo conſtantly uſed: On the contrary, it ſeems to be the effect of *deſign*; and to have been founded on the belief, that wherever the *Manes* were employ'd, the influence was ſo far from being a deception, that it was directly *divine.* And this tallies with thoſe aſſertions we meet with in the Poets [e], and eſpecially that of Homer, ἢ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν [f]; which he cou'd never mean to declare of all ſorts of Viſions, conſiſtently with what he ſays elſewhere, but of thoſe that were wrought by the intervention of the *Manes* [g], whom he himſelf generally employs on *ſuch* errands, and to whoſe effects he conſtantly gives the expreſs epithet of θεῖος, *Divine* [h]. And it is remark-

[d] § ii.

[e] Ariſtoph. Ran. Act. v. Sc. ii. Propert. iv. El. 7. v. 87.

[f] Il. a. 63. conf. Od. a. 37.

[g] Il. ρ. 26.

[h] Il. ρ. 23. Od. ξ. 495.

remarkable, that in conſequence of this notion a cuſtom prevail'd of *lying in Churches* whole Nights, in order to ſee *Viſions* and *prophetick* Viſions, and by that means to obtain an intercourſe and *commerce* with the Gods [i]; an effect which Apollonius thought ſo inconteſtable, that Philoſtratus repreſents him as boaſting of it, with a deſign, it is probable, to diſparage the pretenſions of our Lord on that head [k].

[i] Virg. Æn. vii. 88. Ovid. Faſt. iv. 651. Brawn. de Veſt. Sacerd. p. 98.

[k] iv. c. 40. p. 105.

§. 17. I have fuller evidence ſtill to produce, even declarations ſetting forth almoſt *totidem verbis*, the *truth* and *prophetick* nature of thoſe Viſions the *Manes* raiſed; and theſe declarations out of Virgil himſelf, whoſe authority I chuſe to urge here preferable to that of any other Writer, as he is beſt able to acquaint us what were his ſentiments. Accordingly he tells us, that King Latin having obſerved of late ſo many prodigies in his Houſe and about his Daughter Lavinia, that he cou'd no longer be quiet under them, reſolved to apply to the famous *Oracle* of Faunus for an explanation of thoſe extraordinary Sights, and to be inform'd in *that* way what great Event he was to expect ſhou'd befal him. The Prieſt of the place, at his deſire, prepares for the purpoſe, by firſt offering Sacrifices; and then lays himſelf down to

Sleep on the ſkins of the Victims ſlain, in order to receive the God, when, adds the Poet,

Multa modis ſimulachra *videt volitantia miris*
Et varias audit Voces, *fruiturque* Deorum
[1] Æn. vii. 89. *Colloquio, atque imis* Acheronta *affatur avernis*[1]

Here *Viſions* (*ſimulachra*) and ſacred *Whiſpers* (*Voces*; the ſame with the בת-קול of the Rabbins[m]) are manifeſtly repreſented as vouchſaf'd by the *infernal* Deities (*Acheronta*), and by thoſe *only*, if we take in the circumſtance of *nocturnal* Sacrifices offer'd on this occaſion. And ſhou'd the Reader conſult the ſequel, he will find a very expreſs and formal *Oracle*[a] deliver'd to the King, forbiding him to diſpoſe of his Daughter to a Latin; which he is made by the Poet to keep to ſo cloſely, that his Wife Amata being able neither by *tears* nor *entreaties*, nor even by an artful *conſtruction* of this very Oracle, to *prevail* with him to match Lavinia to Turnus, ſhe broke away from him into a fit of religious Madneſs, that whipt her forward, as Schoolboys do their tops, and ſent her ſpining round the Town[b]. *Tantæne animis Cæleſtibus iræ!* But not to deviate; there is another paſſage ſtill, that ſupports the *character* of the infernal Deities, and ſhews their

[m] Vide Lightfoot & Elſner. ad Math. 3. 17.

[a] Æn. vii. 96.

[b] Æn. vii. 358.

their influence to have been held of the *ſacred* kind. It is that, where Venus, Mother to the Trojan Chief, is introduced complaining to Jupiter, before the Gods in full Council met, of the hardſhips laid on her Son and his Attendants, and urging, among other reaſons for better uſage, this that follows:

Si ſine pace tua, *atque* invito *numine Troës*
Italiam petiere; luant peccata, neque illos
Juveris auxilio: Sin tot reſponſa *ſecuti,*
Quæ ſuperi, Maneſque *dabant, cur nunc* tua *quiſquam*
Flectere juſſa *poteſt?* [c]

[c] Æn. x. 31.

Venus was a beauty, and by her ſtation ever young; and therefore no wonder ſhe ſhou'd ſpeak ſo much to the purpoſe. Nor cou'd Jupiter but have yielded to the force of her argument, had he not had a ſupreme fatality to plead in his behalf. This ſaves his character, but makes it not leſs plain, that the *Manes*, the *infernal* Deities (if the *oppoſition* be juſt *here*, and the *uſe* of the word but a few lines *lower* [d] of Alecto, one of the Furies, be a proof) were Jupiter's Meſſengers ſent by him on errands of the oracular kind. It is true, Juno wou'd have us believe, the informations Venus here alluded to, were nothing better than the

[d] v. 39.

senseless *reveries* of a distracted Woman[e]: But her Godship was somewhat in a pet, and so she must be excused for talking besides herself. Venus certainly said nothing but what she was well supported in. For Mercury, Hector, (or rather some God under that form) and others had deliver'd many Messages of this kind; but none more fully, than the fiend Celæno, who went into particulars, and imparted to Anchises and Æneas a very express Oracle of Phœbus, concerning their intended Voyage into Italy, and their final settlement there after certain hardships undergone[f]. The mother of the Gods must accordingly be deemed to have aim'd sarcastically at the daughter of Priam: And we from this incident must infer, that since the utmost spight cou'd object no more, the *Manes* were held to be among the *Agents* employ'd by the *celestial* Deities to declare *their* will and perform their commands. Indeed nothing but the undoubted *certainty* of this point cou'd make Venus call *those Oracles*, her son had receiv'd by the intervention of the *Manes*[g], no less than those the *superi* had deliver'd[h], *Jovis jussa*: Nor had any thing *short* of this justified her charging Jupiter seemingly with *Injustice*, for suffering her son to be so ill used, when he had not ventur'd on

[e] v. 68.

[f] Æn. iii. 252.

[g] Confer Æn. vi. 461.

[h] Æn. iii. 374.

on his undertakings, but in obedience to *his* commands. And tho' *Viſions* are not particularly mention'd *here*, and Celæno did not deliver the information in *that* way; yet Mercury, Hector, and the reſt, (who certainly are not leſs to be underſtood here than the Fiend) having manifeſtly uſed *that* method of conveyance, the argument runs at leaſt *equally* in favour of Viſions; and the undoubted inference to be made hence is, that theſe Beings were accounted *Meſſengers of truth* in *ev'ry* way of influence.

§. 18. And here we might reſt the matter, as ſufficiently made out, at leaſt till ſome very expreſs paſſages to the contrary were produced; which perhaps ſome might think it worth their while to hunt for, if not prevented from a *needleſs* purſuit. For their ſake, therefore I ſhall add, by way of finiſher, that as on *one* hand *truth* is expreſly aſcrib'd to the *Manes* in thoſe words of Lucan[i], *Manibus exprime verum*; and in thoſe others[k], *Certus diſcedit ab umbris, quiſquis vera petit*; ſo on the *other*, *falſhood* was deem'd to be peculiar to Beings of a very *different* complexion; Cacodæmons namely; evil Spirits; inhabitants not of the *other*, but of *this* world. Porphyry is our voucher for the general charge in thoſe words of his, τὸ γὰρ Ψευδὲς ἰδίοις οἰκεῖον,

[i] vi. 599.

[k] vi. 770.

ἰδιωτικὸν, *Mentiri his proprium eſt* [l]. More particularly *falſe Oracles* were aſcribed to the agency of the Dæmons, as appears from inconteſted evidences [m]: And to come to the point at once, ſo were *falſe Viſions*, or Deluſions; as needs not be proved by more than this declaration of Penelope, Αυτὰρ ἐμοὶ κὴ ὀνείρατ' ἐπέσσιεν κακὰ δαίμων, *at mihi & inſomnia immiſit malum numen* [a].

[l] De Abſt. Animi. ii. §. 42. p. 86.

[m] Eurip. Electr. v. 979. Jamblich. de Myſter. ſect. 4. c. 7. p. iii. & ad eum Gale p. 253.

[a] Odyſſ. v. 86.

§. 19. The notion theſe evidences are intended to expoſe, it muſt be own'd, is one of very long ſtanding: And notions of that ſort, we learn by woful experience, are not readily parted with. Their antiquity gives them a venerable air: The number and abilities of thoſe that have entertain'd them, paſs for good proofs of their acknowledg'd verity: And the eaſe with which they ſit upon their favourers, creates a fondneſs, that ſo improves by age, as not to agree, without reluctance, to lay them by, even when wore bare and unfit for further uſe. I am not therefore inclin'd to leave the matter to ſtruggle with a difficulty ariſing from the very proof we have offer'd, when it is odds but the long ſettled acquaintance with its reverſe, puts ſome on ſeeking for leſs natural ones, but muſt crave the further favour of being allow'd to remove it out of

of my way; and ſo to eſtabliſh the point I am upon inconteſtably. Nor need I apprehend incurring the Reader's diſpleaſure, for detaining him ſomewhat longer in an affair that may ſeem to have been abundantly made out; when what I have to ſay more on this head of Enquiry, will upon peruſal appear to be not a *bare anſwer* to a very ſpecious ſurmiſe, but to contain withal a direct and *poſitive proof* in favour of the opinion I eſpouſe, as well as a full and a very *particular explanation* of ev'ry remaining circumſtance in the deſcription of the ivory Gate.

§. 20. It has been proved, that *Dæmons* were concerned in raiſing *falſe Viſions:* And Dæmons whom Virgil wou'd call *Manes*, Homer mentions more than once among the inhabitants of the other world. It may therefore be pretended, that the evidences produced can be made to do no more than ſhew, that there were *two* ſorts of *Manes* concern'd in the affair of *Viſions:* And conſequently, that our Poet having uſed ſo expreſs an Epithet as that of *falſa* (in oppoſition beſides to the word *Veris*) there is need of ſome very particular *Criterion* indeed, to be able to evince, that it was not thoſe *Dæmons* he had reſpect to *here*, but thoſe

other

other *Manes*, the meſſenger of the Celeſtial Deities.

§. 21. Undoubtedly the Reader has already made the diſtinction between *Dæmons* and *Cacodæmons*, which is eſſential in this matter. For tho' the *ſingle* word Dæmon is of *general* uſe, and is applied to Deities of *both* worlds; yet, ſo far as I remember, when *that* word occurs with the additional epithet of *Evil*, relating either to *it*, or its effects, it never ſtands for *Infernal* Deities, but for thoſe *Genii* that were believ'd inhabitants of *our* Globe, and the tormentors of mankind. However, as the objection contains the utmoſt that can be ſaid for the receiv'd opinion, I will not inſiſt upon the anſwer now made to it, but am contented to take it as it ſtands: And hope, that when I ſhall have produced the *Criterion* required, I ſhall be allow'd to ſing with my fav'rite Author, *Ruit alto à culmine Troja.*

§. 22. As it is certain, that when Poets tell us in the courſe of their fictions, what the things they are feigning are *made* of, they intend not to indulge an *unmeaning* luxuriant fancy in *ſuch* their deſcriptions, but unqueſtionably deſign thereby to denote ſome certain *peculiarity* relative to the matter they are treating of: So likewiſe it is certain,

that

that when *ſuch* peculiarities are not applicable to the *neareſt* ſubjects, to which the epithets expreſſing them ſeem at firſt ſight to *appropriate* them, we muſt look further for a proper ground whereon to found them. For ſhou'd we, notwithſtanding ſuch *ſeeming* inconſiſtency, reſolve to adhere to the letter, we not only give up at once all *deſign* in the Author, but, if I ſee things right, we run *counter* to his very Intention. For the ſeeming *abſurdity*, which the thing bears, not being capable to be thought not to have been *perceived* by a writer of any character, and being notwithſtanding *preſerved*, is the ſtrongeſt preſumption we can have, that he intended thereby to lead us from the moſt *obvious* application we ſhou'd have made, to ſome more *diſtant* ground of juſt Interpretation.

§. 23. Accordingly when we here obſerve a Gate appropriated to *Sleep* (which agreeably to the nature of things, and all poetical delineations extant, ought to have been of *Ebony*, or ſome ſuch like *black* or *duſky* material) to be notwithſtanding repreſented by one of the beſt and juſteſt of the Latin Poets, not only as *nitens*, but *perfecta nitens*; and that *Elephanto*, and *candenti Elephanto*; we cannot help ſaying with Lucretius:

Curea, quæ nigro fuerint paulo ante colore,
[a] ii. 764. *Marmoreo fieri poſſint candore repente*; [a]

In conſequence of which we are unavoidably forc'd, if the *above* argumentation be juſt, not, to uſe means and employ artifices, whereby to *change* the ſcene, and give room for ſaying with
[b] Met. ii. 542. Ovid [b], *Qui color albus erat, nunc eſt contrarius albo*; but to leave *Sleep* quite out of the Queſtion, and to give over all thoughts of looking for a ſolution there.

§. 24. But then, while the abſurdity in this *ſtrict* way of Inveſtigation is palpable, there is *none* in having recourſe to ſome *extraneous* cauſe, to which the *effects* couch'd under theſe expreſſions may be reaſonably attributed. So far from it, that I imagine we cannot move in a more *natural* way, nor hit upon any thing more *likely* to give ſatisfaction in the end, if it can be made to bear. And therefore, under ſuch convictions, what ſhou'd we think of for a cauſe, but *break of day*, which may agreeably to the truth of things be very well repreſented, as occaſioning all this *brightneſs* in the Gate, even *whilſt* it continues *a Gate of Sleep*. Nor is this barely *probable*; but, as I conceive it, it is the *very* notion pointed to in *ev'ry* circumſtance of this paſſage.

§. 25. For

§. 25. For (*first*) why ſhou'd our Poet feign a Gate of SLEEP? The fiction of a *Gate* in this matter, was already *peculiarity* enough; ſince no Writer that went *before* (or came *after*) him, ever ſaw it *neceſſary* to make *uſe* of *ſuch* an expedient in *ſimilar* caſes. If therefore he meant *only* to top his brother-Poets, he had done that enough by the *bare* contrivance of a *Gate*. He needed not to have added any further *reſtriction*; and much leſs to have pitch'd upon a *Gate of Sleep* above all things. For there was certainly in the *activity* of his Hero; nor in the particular *employment* he ſuppoſes him and Anchiſes engaged in, that cou'd recommend *ſuch* a thought to his choice *preferably* to any other. On the contrary, if we take no *more* into our Idea, there ſeems to be a pretty manifeſt *inconſiſtency* in the affair; too great to ſuſpect it of Virgil. The truth is, the Poet wanted to turn Æneas out in a *maſterly* way with *nature* on his ſide in the Fiction: And therefore he turn'd him out at a *Gate of Sleep*, pointing to that particular *period* of it, when *Night* is diſpell'd by the *Morning*, and men iſſue forth out of the confines of *Death*, to their former ſtate of *Life* and Activity.

§. 26. *Next* comes the MATTER of the Gate, which is of *Ivory*. Mr. Warburton thinks the pompous Gate of Ceres's Temple was alluded to herein [c]. It may be ſo: And the more, when (*faſ ſit hæc addere*) nothing was commoner than for Gates, and even whole Temples to be of ſuch material [d]. But this is not what I am concern'd about here. I aim at ſomething elſe. I wou'd fain know the *preciſe* meaning of the word *candenti*. Not, that I am for calling in queſtion its *common* acceptation: But, that in this place, I apprehend, it ſhou'd carry ſome *emphaſis*, or perhaps bear *another* ſenſe than it uſually does. For if the Poet intended herein no *more* than to ſet forth the *whiteneſs* of his Gate, I truſt he had *already* given us that *ſufficiently* to underſtand by his *Elephanto*; which, in caſes of this ſort, is at leaſt as much uſed for *colour* as ſolidity, and which is evidently here determined in *ſuch* its meaning, by the addition of *nitens*. Why then overcharge the deſcription with *candenti*? Is there any *Ivory* that is not *white*? *Nugas agimus*. The true reaſon is, he deſigned to point herein to the *Morning*, of which that epithet is uſed, among others, in this of Tibullus, *Candente dies apparuit ortu* [e]. This is *one* thing; but not *all* I have

[c] Div. Leg. vi. p. 238.

[d] Virg. Georg. i. 406. iii. 26. & Propert. iv. El. 2. v. 5.

[e] iv. El. 1. v. 65.

to

to ſay here. I wou'd further beg leave to put the Reader in mind of thoſe words of Lucan [f],

(dum
Non idem Eoi color ætheris; albaque non-
Lux rubet, *& flammas propioribus eripit*
(aſtris.

[f] ii. 720.

For according to this obſervation, was the word *candens* capable of being underſtood of a *red* reſplendency, we ſhou'd be ſtill more nearly directed to the efficiency of the morning; not only, as this Idea ſuits *beſt* with the *fav'rite* characteriſtick, under which *Aurora* is deſcribed by the Claſſicks; but moreover, as it wou'd clearly evince, that the *colour* hinted at in this Epithet, was not *inherent* in the Ivory, but the effect of ſome *external* Influence. Now for this ſenſe I appeal to an authority, better than which cannot be produced, even that of Horace, where he ſays [g]:

[g] ii. Serm. 6. v. 102.

——————— rubro *ubi cocco*
Tincta ſuper lectos canderet *veſtis eburnos*;

For here it is plain, *canderet* is uſed not of a *white*, but a *red* reſplendency. I muſt inſiſt too upon thoſe known phraſes of *candens favilla* and *candens ferrum*; in which it is obſervable, that the word not only conveys the notion of a *glowing* colour,

colour, but withal determines *preciſely* and *ſolely* the *adventitious* ſtate the ſubſtances, it relates to, are in, and ſo may well be thought to be uſed in theſe expreſſions in its *primary* and *fixt* meaning. I muſt urge beſides, that it is uſual both for ſacred [h] and profane [i] writers, when they wou'd make us ſenſible of the *approach* or *influence* of the morning, to repreſent things as of the *particular* hew we are here ſpeaking of. And I muſt ſupport the whole with the deſcription Virgil's conſtant imitator, Silius Italicus, gives us of the Gate, (the *very* gate we are treating of) in theſe words [k]:

h 2 *King.* 3. 22.
i Virg. Æn. vii. 25. Catull. carm. 65. v. 275.
k xiii 556. conter. Æn. vi 719.

Extrema hinc, auro fulgens, *jam* lucis *honorem*
Sentit, & admoto ſplendet ceu ſidere Lunæ.
Hac animæ Cœlum repetunt, ac, milke peractis,
Oblitæ Ditem redeunt in corpora, luſtris.

Here is then, it ſhould ſeem, room enough for ſaying of this Gate with Homer [l], (whom Silius perhaps imitated in his *Splendet ceu ſidere Lunæ*) that ἀστὴρ δ' ὃσ ἀπέλαμπεν; or with Virgil [m]:

l Odyſſ. ρ. 108.
m Æn. xii. 67.

Indum ſanguineo *veluti violaverit* oſtro
Si quis ebur.

How-

However, not to lay too great a ſtreſs upon what is not abſolutely wanted, I am content to have *this* and the *other* remark paſs for no more than conjectures, worthy however of notice, as being neither without their *probability*, nor without their particular *uſe* in this place. But then, I hope, I ſhall not be thought unreaſonable, if in return for this impartiality, I expect it ſhou'd be granted me, as the *leaſt* that can follow from the combination of *nitens*, *candens*, and *Elephantum*, that the Poet intended herein to deſcribe a glaring reſplendency, be the colour what it will; which admitted, I leave the Reader to judge, whether this does not direct us to a *cauſe*, that is capable of *ſuch* an effect, and this cauſe ſuch as may be *conſiſtent* with the notion of *Sleep*, and ſo at laſt to the *ſhining Light* of the Morning.

§. 27. *Moreover*, this Gate is PLACED between the nether and upper Regions; cou'd it therefore in the Fiction be otherwiſe than *dark* within, and *light* without? Surely not. For

Omnis habet geminas hinc atque hinc Janua frontes,
Equibus hæc pópulum ſpectat, at illa larem[a].

[a] Ovid. Faſt. i. 135.

And accordingly we muſt think of a *period*

period of Sleep, where theſe particulars may be met with; where men may be conſider'd as juſt in that very *point*, that parts between Light and Darkneſs: And where will you find that, but at Day-break. Beſides, why ſhou'd the Poet *place* a Gate of *Sleep* juſt where the Elyſium and our Earth are ſuppoſed to meet? If it had been any *other* ſort of Gate, the *uſe* he makes of it, wou'd have accounted for this ſituation; but now that it is a Gate of Sleep, *that* alone is not ſufficient reaſon. There is ſomething more required to juſtify this management. And accordingly ſhall it be ſaid, that he intended *nothing* further herein than to inform us of the *origin* of dreams? But then the word *Manes* does this already; beſides, that if this were all that was aim'd at, it might have been anſwer'd as well by removing the Gate down lower, to the entrance of the Elyſium, or even to the *fauces Orci*. In either caſe the hint had been equally clear, and the Gate might ſtill, with the ſame propriety, have ſerv'd as a paſſage to Æneas in his way hither. We are then unavoidably forc'd to maintain, that, as fiction, true fiction, is ever founded in Nature, the Poet deſign'd hereby to fix our *undetermin'd* Idea of Sleep to that

parti-

particular ſtage of it, that *connects* the Night with the Morning.

§. 28. *Further* ſtill, this Gate, ſays my Author, was made USE of to ſend Viſions thro' *ad Cælum.* Some bid you note here, that this means *ad ſuperos*, to the *inhabitants* of the *upper* Regions; as if any in the ſhades *below* uſed now and then to be overtaken with a *Nap*, and to ſee *Viſions* as well as other folk. *O lepida capita!* Without a jeſt, Virgil, it has been proved, ſpoke here to a receiv'd opinion: and that opinion, I muſt think, he had fully expreſs'd without this addition of *ad Cælum.* The *Manes* pointed from *whence* Viſions came; and the Gate being a Gate of *Sleep* directed to the ſubjects that receiv'd them. I muſt ſay more. I muſt maintain, that if by *Cælum* are to be underſtood *Agents*, and Beings inhabiting *ſuperna infernis*; why then, what was fully *determined* before, becomes *vage* and uncertain; and I don't know, but we may have room to dream of *Gods* ſeeing *Viſions* as well as *Men.* I have indeed been told by the Poets, that Juno, when ſhe wanted to play ſome of her pranks, uſed to get the God of Sleep to lull her henpeck'd Squire to reſt[a]; but I have read no where of his or any other Deity's ſeeing Viſions. This therefore won't do. And what will?

[a] Hom. Il. g. 233. Sil. Ital. x. 344.

Shall it be *next* pretended, that this word means here no more than the Skies? If ſo, I aſk, did Viſions go and take a tour there before they executed their errands? *Credat Judæus apella, non ego.* Or to get rid of the affair at once, ſhall it be ſaid, that the Poet put theſe words in to make up his Verſe? This wou'd do to excuſe a Schoolboy; but ſuits not with the dignity of Virgil. Which way ſoever therefore we turn it, there is no accounting for this particularity in our Author, but by ſaying, that *Cælum* here means not *barely* the Skies, but the *en-*
[b] Æn. vi. 719. confer. v. 436, 680. *lighten'd* Skies, as in that paſſage [b]:

O Pater, anne aliquas ad Cœlum *hinc ire*
putandum eſt
Sublimes animas? iterumque ad tarda
reverti
Corpora? Quæ Lucis *miſeris tam dira*
cupido?

This is ſaying ſomething. This tallies with what is ſaid of Orpheus in the
[c] iv. 490. Georgicks [c]:

(ipſa
Reſtitit, Euridicemque ſuam jam luce *ſub*
Immemor heu! victuſque animi reſpexit.

This maintains, beſides a true and proper *oppoſition* between the *lower* and *upper* Regions;

Regions; and does it too under *thoſe* Ideas, which all Poets have expreſs'd[d], and which Virgil himſelf keeps to in many places, but moſt fully in theſe words[e]:

[d] Sil. Ital. xiii. 708. ibiq; Comment.

[e] Georg. iii. 551. conf. Æn. vii. 770.

Savit & in Lucem *ſtygiis emiſſa* tenebris
Pallida Tiſiphone.

Thus our Author is clear'd from the charge of *ſuperfluity*. Thus *this* particular is made to ſuit with the *other* parts of the deſcription. And this being thus made out to ſtand not ſo much for a characteriſtick of *place*, as of *time*, furniſhes me with the proof I wanted.

§. 29. Once *more*; Anchiſes, ſays the Poet, turn'd Æneas and the Sybil out at this Gate. When, I aſk? Why at Day-break. For Ovid, epitomizing, as it were, this part of Virgil's works, tells us, that after Æneas had gone thro' all the various partitions of the other world, and had done ſpeaking with his father Anchiſes, he went on with his guide, and *iter horrendum per opaca crepuſcula carpit*[f]. This is expreſs. Or, ſhou'd this proof ſeem dubious ſtill, ſee here a ſtronger. It ariſes from Virgil's own account of Æneas's progreſs. He tells us, that he ſpent the firſt *night* in ſacrifices[g], that he enter'd upon his journey

[f] Met. xiv. 122.

[g] Æn. vi. 252.

h v. 255. at *Sunriſing* [h]; and that about *Noon* he
i v. 353. got half way [i]. He muſt have paſſed therefore the *remainder* of that Day and the enſuing *Night* in his further courſe, that he might make up *the Day and two Nights*, which Plutarch *de Genio Socratis* tells us, were appropriated to *ſuch* perluſtrations: And if ſo, he muſt have come out at break of Day. Which is ſtill further confirm'd by our Poet's ſaying, in the beginning of the next Book, that after Æneas was return'd to theſe upper Regions, and had paid the laſt honours to his nurſe, he ſet ſail about the *Evening*. For here is no mention of a *new* Day, to which this Evening refers; and therefore this muſt either be part of *that* Day he had mentioned in the foregoing Book, or elſe of *a* Day ſufficiently to be made out, without his telling us. But it cannot belong to *that* Day which is expreſs'd; becauſe of the many places Æneas had ſtill to go thro' before he return'd; and the long diſcourſe he had with his Father; and the many other particulars he was engag'd in after that. It muſt therefore by unavoidable neceſſity refer to a Day that was eaſily *underſtood*. And if ſo, Æneas muſt have come out on a *new* Day. And if ſo again, he muſt have come out at the *beginning* of it, or elſe he went beyond the time alotted.

alotted. This is Demonſtration; and hence I draw an unanſwerable argument for my Opinion. For it wou'd be one of the greateſt abſurdities imaginable to ſuppoſe, Virgil ſhou'd bring Æneas up thro' a Gate, which yet, if not diſtinguiſh'd as I wou'd have it, does in its firſt and obvious notion leave men, as it were, in another world. Types and Antitypes muſt unqueſtionably agree in that which conſtitutes them ſuch, whatever they do in other particulars: And that, for which alone a thing is brought in (ſuch as Æneas's return is in the preſent caſe) muſt be compriſed, expreſſed, and exhibited to our view in that ſo introduced; or elſe good-by propriety, *adieu le bon ſens.* In truth, fictions like that we are upon, that is, fictions contrived to be of uſe in a different caſe, are but like ſimilies, and ought ſo to be conſider'd: And therefore, as in ſimilies things muſt anſwer to each other, at leaſt in the ground of the ſimile; ſo in fictions, that are like them, the ſame is required. The Gate, therefore, we are now conſidering, muſt be that Gate of Sleep that faces the Day; or without the figure, that part of reſt that is immediately ſucceeded by the Day, and when, as I ſaid before, men iſſue forth out of the confines of death, to their former ſtate of life and activity.

§. 30. As

§. 30. As I make no queſtion, but theſe obſervations evince clearly, that Virgil deſign'd in his deſcription of this Gate to ſpecify the *time* of ſending Viſions: So am I very well aſſured, that this particularity of our Poet will eaſily be believed not to have been without reaſon, but intended to ſhew us he ſpoke of *true* Viſions; ſince the beſt writers of Antiquity ſet forth this *ſame* mark of time, as their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick: Homer's fav'rite expreſſion, when he wou'd prove his ὄνειρον ἐναργὲς, or δείη ὁμφή [a], is ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΑΜΟΛΓΩ, *Noctis in Conticinio*, which upon the authority of Euſtathius means the *Crepuſculum* not of the *Night*, but of the *Morning* [b]. Virgil's mark in the caſe is *media nox* [c], or *prima quies* [d], or *altus ſopor* [e]; that is, according to the ancients manner of dividing Night [f], the third part of it; Homer's *Conticinium*; that particular period which our Author ſo beautifully deſcribes elſewhere [g], and when in Lucan's phraſe [h], *Noctes ventura luce rubebant*. And not to multiply inſtances beyond neceſſity, Silius Italicus, who may well bring up the rear, expreſly characterizes this period by *lucem* or *ſub lucem* [i]. All which, it is evident, is ſaid, not by *accident*, but in conformity to a general *receiv'd* opinion, even that, which

a Il. β. 48.

b Odyſſ. δ. 841. confer. Heinſ. ad Sil. Ital. iii. 200.

c Æn. v. 738.

d Æn. ii. 268.

e Æn. viii. 27.

f Hom. Il. x. 252. & Odyſſ. μ. 312. confer Gronov. ad Aul. Gell. iii. cap. 2.

g Æn. iv. 81, 522.

h iv. 125.

i iii 200. viii. 121.

which, among other Authors[k], Horace ſets forth in theſe words[l]:

——— *vetuit tali me voce Quirinus*
Poſt mediam noctem *viſus, cum ſomnia* vera.

[k] *Vide* El. Drakenborch ad Sil. Ital. l. cit.
[l] 1 Serm. x. 32.

§. 31. It is then by this time ſufficiently plain, I hope, that the notion of *falſhood*, which has ſo generally prevail'd among Commentators in this place, is abſolutely irreconcileable with ev'ry circumſtance the deſcription affords: And to ſhew, that what we have thus, by a very ſtrict and critical enquiry been able to make out, is indeed the very truth; I muſt crave leave here to produce a very expreſs, and, for ought I know, the only paſſage where viſions of the Iv'ry Gate are mentioned. It is that of our Author's cotemporary Horace, who having deſcrib'd Europa's rambles with her fav'rite Bull, upon her landing in Crete, introduces her condemning the raſhneſs and undutifulneſs of her conduct, and puts theſe remarkable words in her mouth[m],

[m] iii. Od. 27. v. 39.

——— *vigilansne ploro*
Turpe Commiſſum, an vitio carentem
Ludit imago
Vana, quæ portâ fugiens eburnâ
Somnium ducit?

To

To ſay *Imago vana ducit ſomnium*, is in Ovid's ſtile [a], to ſuppoſe *Viſions* to ariſe from an extraordinary *Divine* impulſe [b]: and ſuch, in the opinion of all writers, we have ſeen were held *true*; and muſt, beſides, have been accounted ſo by Horace, or elſe he will be thought to ſay a very weak thing. He will be made to repreſent Europa ſoothing herſelf with what ſhe *knew* had *no* exiſtence, or was at beſt a meer *impoſition* of her own, or others raiſing; a thought, which, cou'd ſhe have entertain'd it, muſt have been ſo far from appearing a proper ſource of comfort, under her ſtrong convictions of *reality*, that it muſt have ſerved to prove it to her, that none but ſhe cou'd be in fault, and ſo have encreas'd the diſtraction ſhe was labouring to leſſen. We may therefore reſt aſſured, ſhe was thinking of ſomething on which ſhe cou'd *juſtly* caſt the blame; and that ſhe was willing to perſuade herſelf, ſhe was in a true *viſionary* ſcene, in which another *unſubſtantial* ſelf was acting over all the parts of that conduct, ſhe wrongfully imagined herſelf concerned in. Nor is this all this paſſage affords of evidence. It is further manifeſt, that Europa is here made to ſuppoſe *Viſions* of the Ivory Gate capable of making an impreſſion, every way *equal* to a real *fact*; and

[a] Ovid Met. xi. 584. *ſeqq.* confer infra §. 33.

[b] Supra §. 16.

and ſuch an effect it is as manifeſt was not thought to belong to any other than true *Viſions*. Virgil is my voucher; who introduces Æneas telling us, how his tutelar Deities had appeared to him in his ſleep, and why he was ſure the Imagery was no deception [c]:

Nec ſopor *illud erat*; *ſed coram* agnoſcere *vultus*
Velataſque comas, præſentaque ora videbar.

Where it is natural to obſerve beſides, that *Deluſions* were not call'd *Somnium*, (the word Horace uſes) but *Sopor*, or *Somnus*, as in other places [d].

§. 32. Notwithſtanding all this, I wou'd not be underſtood, by any thing here ſaid, to aſſert, that there are not paſſages to be met with, where ſome talk of Viſions in a different ſtrain. I know the contrary. I have not forgot Horace's ſneer at *Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, ſagas, Nocturnos Lemures, portentaque Theſſala* [e]: And what is more, I remember, Tibullus dares to accoſt even theſe morning Viſions with an *Ite procul*; *vanum falſumque avertite viſum* [f]. But what then? Does this contradict our opinion? No, but confirms it; by ſhewing, that the common belief was on the other ſide of the Queſtion. So that

[c] Æn. iii. 173.

[d] Virg. Æn. viii. 42. Sil. Ital. viii. 179.

[e] ii. Ep. 2. v. 208.

[f] ii. El. 4. v. 3.

it is hardly needful to add here, that in conſequence of this perſuaſion, different kinds of Religious performances were uſual after ſuch nocturnal appearances [g].

[g] Tibull. l.cit. & Sil. Ital. viii. 121.

§. 33. Truth then is the word, which way ſoever we turn ourſelves; whether we conſider the particular *ſort* of Viſions here ſpoke of, or the *character* of the Beings concern'd in raiſing them. But truth, we know, admits of no falſhood. How therefore, will it be ſaid, can *true* Viſions be called *falſe?* and how came the Poet, when he intended to deſcribe things of ſuch a nature, to uſe an epithet that ſeems ſo unfit for his purpoſe? Thus runs the objection; and formidable indeed wou'd it be, were the word in queſtion capable but of *one* meaning: But as it is of *large* ſignification the difficulty vaniſhes, if out of its *various* conſtructions it be poſſible to pick out one, that is moſt ſuitable to the ſubject in hand. And this ſenſe I take to be that *active* one of *deceiving by reaſon of a counterfeit, mimick form and appearance*; for every part of which there are clear Authorities. For as to *deception*, there needs no ſtronger proof, tho' more there are [h], than that of Saluſt in theſe words, *Ambitio mortales falſos fieri ſubigit: aliud clauſum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere* [i]; which character we may

[h] Horat. ii. Serm. 2. 6. Ovid. Met. x. 293. Propert. ii El. 9. v. 3.

[i] Catil. i. 10.

may obſerve held out to us in *ſome* Authors under different ſimilitudes, according to the different ſubjects it may thruſt itſelf into [k], and in *others* expreſs'd by the ſingle words, *duplex* [l], and *bilinguis* [m], but in *all* ſet forth in ſuch colours as are too well known and underſtood, not to think men ready to join with Achilles in ſaying,

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοί κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν
Ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει [a].

[k] Elſner. in N. T. v. 1. p. 75, 102. & Alberti in N. T. p. 135.
[l] Horat. i. carm. 5. v. 7. ibique Eruditiſſ. Bently.
[m] Sil. Ital. xvi. 157. ibique Doct. Drakenb
[a] Il. i. 312.

As to the *Connection* we ſuppoſe between ſuch deceit and ſome *mimick* counterfeit form, it appears plainly in that of the Prœtides, *implerunt falſis mugitibus agros* [b]; and in the command of Venus to Cupid, *falle faciem dolo*, explain'd by *pueri indue vultus* [c], and moſt fully and appoſitely in thoſe hard words of Æneas to his mother:

Quid natum toties crudelis tu quoque falſis
Ludis imaginibus [d].

[b] Virg. Ecl. vi. 48.
[c] Æn. i. 687.
[d] Æn. i. 411.

In all which inſtances the word is of the ſame import with that of *fallax*, uſed of Protæus by Virgil [e], and of a Spectre by Silius Italicus [f]. Nor can there be any doubt of the congruity of this *complicated* meaning

[e] Georg. iv. 440. confer Homer. Od. δ. 80.
[f] vii. 530.

meaning to the ſubject in hand, if it be conſider'd, that as there is no *circumſtance* Authors of all ſorts are ſo careful and conſtant in mentioning, when they introduce Viſions into their narratives, as this of *ſimilitude* (which they ſometimes do by the uſe of *ſingle* words, ſuch as εἴδωλον [g], *Effigies* [h], *Imago* [i], *Forma* [k], *Umbra* [l], *Facies* [m], *Simulachrum* [a], and *Species* [b]; and ſometimes by large *deſcriptions* of the Beings mimick'd, and the particulars in which the reſemblance was carried on [c];) ſo is it the very Idea they keep to, when they wou'd *define* what they mean by *Viſions*, and in what they conceive their *nature* to conſiſt. Thus Ovid, who is the fulleſt upon this ſubject of any Author I know of, calls them in one place [d], *Somnia veros imitantia caſus*; in another [e], *varias imitantia formas*, *ſomnia vana*; and in a third [f], *ſomnia, quæ veras æquant imitamine formas:* different ways of deſcription theſe, which unite to ſhew, that *ſomnia*, tho' *vana* (a word at firſt ſight full as ſtrong as *falſa*) may yet with juſtneſs be ſaid to *imitate*; nay, *æquare imitamine*, not barely *caſus*, but with emphaſis, *veros caſus*, *veraſque formas*; and by neceſſary implication, that theſe *Viſions* are only *not* the *very* ſubſtances they repreſent; that they are ſtrong *ſimilitudes*, and ſuch

[g] Hom. Od. δ. 796.
[h] Virg. Æn. iii. 147.
[i] Æn. iv. 353.
[k] Æn. iv. 556.
[l] Æn. iv. 571.
[m] Æn. v. 722
[a] Æn. vii. 89.
[b] Curt. iii. 3. ibiq; Comment. & Sil. Ital. xiii. 394. ibiq; Drakenb.
[c] Hom Il. ε. 56. & alibi.
[d] Met xi. 589.
[e] ibid. v. 614.
[f] ibid. v. 627.

as

as by reaſon of their *oppoſition* to Verities, ſhou'd be accounted falſhoods, *ſano ſenſu*, that is, *mimick*, *counterfeit reſemblances*. Thus proceeds this writer to give us *his* ſenſe of the matter; in which he will be found to have advanced nothing different from the conceptions Virgil entertain'd in the caſe. For this latter Author deſigning to inform us, what ſort of thing the Spectre was that Juno dreſs'd up in the ſhape, air, and mien of Æneas (a trick often tried [g]) tells us in plain terms [h],

Morte obitâ quales fama eſt volitare figuras,
Aut quæ ſopitos deludunt ſomnia ſenſus.

[g] Hom. Il. E. 449. Sil. Ital. xvii. 530.
[h] Æn. x. 636.

Here we have, beſides a *compariſon* between Spectres, Souls, and Viſions, a plain *definition* too, what *Inſomnia* were in our Author's opinion; and *ſuch* a one, as to me ſeems compriſed in the ſingle word *falſus*. *Sopitos*, ſays he, *deludunt ſenſus*. He ſpeaks not here of any *particular* ſort of Viſions, nor does he drop the leaſt hint of the *Beings* concern'd in raiſing them. He muſt therefore be underſtood to give us herein a *General* attribute of *all* kinds of Viſions; which accordingly has nothing to do with an *Intentional* deception, becauſe it was taught, as I have largely ſhewn above [i], that there were at leaſt *ſome* Viſions that were *true*.

[i] §. 30.

How

How then can they be ſaid to *delude*, as being Non-Entities? Surely not: For it is nothing better than a *Contradiction* to aſcribe an effect to no cauſe; beſides, that the *uſe* here made of this Inſtance, (which is to ſhew the nature of an *unbodied reality*, and not, *childiſhly* to prove, that what he had been at the pains of feigning and bringing into the ſcene, was a meer cobweb of his brains) abſolutely overthrows the ſuſpicion. In what manner then can we account for this character? Certainly in no other way than by ſaying, that Viſions produce ſuch an effect by being taken for *bodily* realities; the very things they repreſent; when they are no more than *unſubſtantial*, *mimick* reſemblances. For their *exiſtence* once allow'd, and the *quality* once underſtood to belong to *all* kinds of Viſions, there is abſolutely no *other* ground left for a deception: And this is pretty clearly hinted at too in the words *ſopitos ſenſus*, aſſigning as the *ſole* cauſe of the miſtake, the want of juſt and adequate perception. Upon the whole, our argumentation makes irrefragably for an *active*, againſt a *paſſive* ſenſe, by ſhewing it to be an *inherent*, inſeparable *property* of *all* kinds of Viſions, *true* or *falſe*, to *mimick*, and ſo to become liable to be *miſtaken*: And the inſtances produc'd of the

the application of the word *falſus* in various caſes, evidence, that this complicated quality is juſtly and properly expreſs'd by that word. The conſequence is, that the notion of *falſhood* cannot *certainly* be ſupported by this epithet; and if not by this, it muſt be given up; ſince the *other* circumſtances of deſcription are ſo far from countenancing ſuch a conceit, that they demonſtrate the direct *contrary* to be the truth.

§. 34. Indeed had this *mimick* nature of Viſions been kept to, it is probable, there had been no room for enquiring now into our Author's meaning. Interpreters, it may be preſumed, had been led thereby to give us a Comment, that had raiſed their own and the Poet's character. But this eaſy thought they overlook'd, tho' there were circumſtances that clearly enough pointed this way: By which their ſhameful inattention they were betrayed into the cruel and unpardonable purpoſe of daubing over one of the brighteſt Gates, the art of man cou'd deviſe, with colourings of ſaddeſt hue; and we neceſſitated to attempt the removal of the ſtain, theſe bungling ſign-poſt painters have not bluſh'd to caſt upon it. Whether things have been reſtored to their native luſtre, muſt be left to the Reader to determine; who, I imagine,

will

will be beſt able to judge in the caſe, if the Poet's ſenſe be repreſented to him in one view. I ſhall therefore crave his further indulgence, while I venture to put the finiſhing hand to this matter, by ſtating the Fiction in terms that ſeem to me truly to expreſs it. And tho' herein I dare to tread a path I am not uſed to, yet the ſole motive that drove me into it, having been the deſire of keeping up the ſpirit of my Author, which I fear'd might ſuffer, if not be loſt, in any other way; I make no queſtion, but that, for this reaſon, thoſe who are wont to feel the God, who can boaſt of native unacquirable fire, will be as ready, as they are able, to ſupply the deficiencies they may here obſerve; content, if theſe lines convey an intelligible meaning, and deſtroy not that invention they are intended to preſerve. Thus then I paraphraſe,

The other *plac'd, where gay Elyſium's vales*
In Earth's down-tending plains a bound'ry find,
Shines one refulgent maſs; *as on its ſmooth*
And Iv'ry *ſurface*, glows *in rays of gold*
One bright, eternal day. Thro' this the Gods,
The ſutty Gods of Hell's *tremendous Lake,*
In duteous homage to ſuperior ſway,
Pour ſtraight to Light *of* viſionary *dreams*
Their various tribes; alike or things poſ-
ſeſs'd,

Or

Or those devoid of life, skilful to shew
In mimick *shape, so near resembling truth,*
As to deceive *the nicest ken of man,*
And nicest eye, to which they wing their way.

§. 35. Thus have we got thro' half our task; and have reason for saying with Ulysses[a], τίς θεὸς ὑγεμόνευε νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην. For obscured indeed was our course, and the darkness we have groped thro' next to Cimmerian; so that I cou'd not help repeating often, as I went along[b]

[a] Od. i. 142.

[b] Æn. vii. 126.

——— *facilis descensus averni,*
Sed revocare gradus, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.

We have, however, clear'd our way, and are at last arriv'd at a chearful dawn of Light, the acquisition of which I own affects me with no small degree of pleasure. Indeed the advent'rous mariner cutting the main, without a star, but not without false Lights, thro' hidden rocks and shifting sands, in quest of shore, tho' tired, yet still unknown; and safe-returning from his dubious course, with toil-repaying proofs of blithe success; it might as well be thought, wou'd still bely his prosp'rous wandrings, with sullen grief and waspish discontent, as that

I ſhou'd remain unmov'd, when now poſſeſs'd of what I wiſh'd, but knew might not be gain'd, if cautiouſneſs and diffidence guided the purſuit. Θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων ἐργοῖσι τελέθει [c].

c Odyſſ. v. 51. Conſer Æn. x. 284.

§. 36. But not to wander from my ſubject, by giving into dangerous indulgence, I return and obſerve, that we are juſt where it may be ſaid of us, as it was of Æneas and his companion in a ſimilar caſe, *Solemque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt* [d]. It were worſe than cowardiſe; it wou'd be wilful ſtupidity and ſloth not to venture on, where things bear ſo promiſing an aſpect. Let us then try, whether it be not poſſible to riſe to greater degrees of day, and even to arrive at the full ſunſhine of our wiſhes. Our road, the Reader knows, lies by preſcription thro' another Gate, which, tho' not like the former, καταιβατὴ ἀνθρώποισιν, but cloſe ſhut againſt us, becauſe thought οὐδέ τι κείνῃ ἀνδρὲς ἐσέρχονται, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὁδός ἐστιν [e], will yet, upon trial, be found like thoſe of Apollo's Temple [f], to open to us ſpontaneouſly, if we do but approach it under the Auſpices, and enchanting influence of the power we are ſtrengthen'd with.

d Æn. vi. 641.

e Hom. Odyſſ. v. 110.

f Virg. Æn. vi. 81.

§. 37. Without metaphor, the great point I have been hitherto labouring to eſtabliſh, and which I flatter myſelf I have

have made out to the entire ſatisfaction of the Reader, is nothing leſs than this, that the *Ivory Gate* was by our Author feigned to afford a paſſage to *true* Viſions. This granted, it follows of courſe, that the *Horny Gate* cannot poſſibly be underſtood to have ſerved the *ſame* purpoſe. For the Fiction *ſuppoſes*, and the oppoſition of *veris* to *falſa* neceſſary *infers* a *difference* in uſe, which yet by this means wou'd be *entirely* taken away. And if *true* Viſions cnnnot have place here, *none* can; becauſe of the definitive epithet of *veris*. Indeed this deduction apart, one wou'd have thought, the very *rare* uſe of the word *umbra* to denote a *Viſion*, might have led Interpreters to ſuſpect, the Poet ſpoke of a different thing: eſpecially, when that word is here accompanied with another, (*veris*) very fit for a *ſubſtantial*, but by much too ſtrong for an *Ideal* reality, as is plain from Ovid's deſcriptions of *Viſions*, as given above[g]. But theſe Gentlemen are ſo clearſighted, that they certainly know another's meaning, without ever conſidering his words, tho' they have nothing elſe to judge by. It ought to have been conſider'd too, that if the *ſubjects* be ſuppoſed the *ſame* in both caſes (I mean, if *both Gates* be underſtood to relate to *Viſions*;) then no reaſon can poſſibly be

[g] §. 33.

aſſign'd for our Author's particularity in the words *facilis exitus*; there being certainly no greater *difficulty* in conceiving a *Viſion* to paſs thro' a *Horny*, than an *Ivory* Gate. For as to the *circumſtances* of truth and falſhood, they no way affect or alter the *nature* of the things in queſtion; and without a *difference*, that reaches *thus far*, and on *that* ſcore raiſes an *obſtacle* in the *one* caſe, I'll venture to ſay, the epithet has juſt as much meaning as *Abracadabra*. Nor ſhou'd the *pitiful* attendants *juſt* mentioned, thoſe namely of *truth* and *falſhood*, have engroſs'd the regard of Critics ſo wholly, as to neglect the much more *material*, the chief *difference*, which the *turn* and *uſe* of the fiction, as well as its pompous Introduction with *ſunt geminæ ſomni portæ*, direct us to look for in *ſleep itſelf*. It is certainly too jejune and trifling to run theſe very ſignificative *Intimations* into the one idea of *different Viſions*.--It is more. It is inconſiſtent with reaſon ſo to do. For if it be ſuppoſed our Author deſigned to tell us nothing further, and *ſleep* muſt needs be left out of the queſtion; why was not the *efficient* cauſe of *Viſions* in the *one* caſe ſpecified as well as in the *other*? For ſince the Poet choſe to mention *that* circumſtance as a *chief* ground of *difference*,

(which

(which indeed it is) he was not at liberty to tell it us only by halves; and much leſs to tell it in that admirable figure of ὕστερον πρότερον, *the Cart before the Horſe*, as he manifeſtly muſt be thought to do, if the common opinion takes place; it having been proved inconteſtably, that the *Manes* were meſſengers of *truth* in every way of Influence [h]. Moreover, why were not theſe Gates call'd Gates of *Dreams* rather than of *Sleep*? For that wou'd have been appoſite and have determined the matter, whilſt the mention of *Sleep* ſeems greatly to perplex it. And why ſhou'd not Æneas have been turn'd out rather at the *Horny* than the Ivory Gate of Viſions? For all thoſe abſurdities which bear hard upon the caſe, as it now ſtands, might have been effectually avoided hereby; and that done, the whole might have been made to run as conſiſtently, for ought I can ſee, in this way as in the other. For theſe reaſons I muſt infer, that it is the manifeſt Intention of the fiction to hint at ſome remarkable *differences* in *Sleep*; and if ſo, we muſt underſtand our Author as pointing either to the different *kinds* or *ſtages* of it. But if this be the caſe, *Viſions* can in neither ſenſe be the ſubject of *both* Gates. For Viſions relate but to *one* kind of Sleep, that

[h] § 17.

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is the *natural*; and have nothing to do with any other. And as to the various *ſtages* of Sleep, they too furniſh out an argument, that tends the ſame way. For ſince it has been inconteſtably prov'd, from ev'ry ſingle circumſtance of deſcription, that the *Ivory* Gate pointed to the *Morning*, the time when ſleep is *ſoundeſt*, and meets with an *end*; the neceſſary *oppoſition* of the *Horny* Gate to the former leaves no other *ſtage* of ſleep to think of here, but the firſt of the *Night*, when ſleep is moſt *broken*, as only then *beginning*: But *that* we know, was thought the proper *time* for *Ægri*, *falſa ſomnia*, meer reveries and deceptions[i]; and therefore this *latter* Gate was either *wrongfully* characterized, or elſe relates not to Viſions. To all which I only add, that ſince from a long experience it is notorious, that it has not been poſſible, for any one upon the common ſuppoſition, to account for our Author's Intention in this fiction, unleſs in a manner big with many Puerilities; and ſince yet by the ſequel it will appear, that in our way of conceiving the matter, there are *two* very *conſiſtent* methods of explaining the whole; ſuch as ariſe from the *obvious* meaning of the words; as are moreover ſupported by many *internal* and *external* evidences; and ſhew the

[i] Sil. Ital. iii. 200. Plin. x. 75.

the Poet's Invention in the *ſtrongeſt* and moſt *advantageous* light; ſurely nothing more can be required by any impartial Perſon, to convince him of the propriety and certainty of our Expoſition.

§. 38. To theſe Conſtructions I were ready to proceed forthwith, but that there is ſomething more in the *negative* way, that ought to be ſettled before we go any further. It will detain us a while, but there is no help for it: The thing is neceſſary, and therefore muſt be bore with. For, tho' I make no doubt, but that it will be eaſily underſtood, how the *miſtake*, the above particulars ſerve to refute, came to prevail among Interpreters; when they have *univerſally* taken it for *granted*, that Homer's fiction of two *ſeemingly* ſimilar Gates [k], was the *Original* Virgil copied after: Yet, as that which gave *riſe* to the *error* might prove a ſtrong *prejudice* againſt the *truth*, if not clear'd up; it is needful here to obſerve, that excepting the *bare* matter, out of which both Poets feign their Gates to have conſiſted, almoſt ev'ry *other* circumſtance ſeems to ſhew a *different* Intention in the *two* contrivances. To make this plain, it were certainly of uſe to ſet down here both accounts together, as *contraria juxta ſe poſita magis eluceſcunt*: But ſince I wou'd conſult my Reader's

[k] Odyſ. τ. 562.

Reader's Intereſt and give him his penniworth he will excuſe me for making room by the omiſſion of theſe paſſages, for other matter, and offering only ſuch conſiderations upon them, as their compariſon affords. And, *firſt*, it will by turning to the paſſage eaſily appear, that whoever had a mind to make uſe of Homer's fiction with *propriety*, ſhou'd *introduce* it with a *Dream*, its only proper ground of *application*; and therefore Homer has done ſo. But is there any thing like this in Virgil? Are Æneas and the Sybil entertaining us or others with *nocturnal* occurrences? And are all their *ſlaying* of Victims; all thoſe other *preparations* for their ſubterraneous journey; all their *perluſtrations*; and all the *diſcourſe* they held with *different* perſons, in *different* places, and at *different* times, to be accounted meer *viſionary* tranſactions? Whoever believes this, can believe things related for ſtrongeſt *facts* to be Non-entities: And whoever believes it not, fixes an abſolute *impropriety* upon Virgil; or elſe muſt confeſs, the Poet meant ſomething very *different* from what Homer did. *Secondly*, Homer *calls* his Gates, *Gates of dreams*, as he does again in another place [1], and the *only* one in all his writings, as far as I remember: Whereas Virgil ſtiles his

[1] Odyſ. λ. 809.

Gates

Gates of ſleep; which is ſo *eſſential* a difference, that it *enlarges* the thought, and gives room for ſaying, what cou'd *not* have been ſaid in the other way. *Thirdly*, The *matter* of the Gates is indeed upon the *whole* the ſame in both fictions; but yet in the one it is deſcrib'd with ſome *diſtinguiſhing* peculiarities. Thus as to the *Ivory*, Homer contents himſelf here with calling it here πρίστὸν *ſciſſum*; as he does wherever he means to deſcribe the *ſubſtance*, and *not* the colour of it: Whereas Virgil dwells largely upon the Idea of *reſplendency*, to denote he means the contrary; and adds, beſides the word *perfecta*, pretty nearly in direct oppoſition to Homer's πρίστὸν. And ſo again as to the *Horn*, Homer ſays not only κεραέσσι in the plural, but ξεστῶν κεράων *polita cornua*, in manifeſt alluſion to *more* than one thing: Whilſt Virgil only uſes the *ſingle* epithet of *Cornea*; which if it does not again mean a *meer* quality, ſeems however to imply one *entire* maſs. *Fourthly*, According to Homer the Gates of dreams are *placed* in or about men; as appears from the words ἔλθωσι διὰ πύλας *eunt foras*, and from his ſaying, in the paſſage laſt cited, that Penelope was *in* the Gates of dreams: Whereas Virgil's Gates are manifeſtly otherwiſe diſpos'd of. *Fifthly*, If we

conſider, that the Ancients thought *Ivory* to be the Elephant's *tooth*[a]; that it is uſual *too* with Homer to deſcribe *ſpeech* by ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων *ſermo excidit ſeptum dentium*[b]; and that under this gate the Poet particularly mentions ἔπεα ἀκρήαντα *verba irrita*; we ſhall not need any further arguments to be aſſured, that his *Ivory* Gate is the *mouth*. And ſo on the other hand, if we obſerve that Homer uſes the word κεράων *cornua* in the plural; that in another place he ſays of Ulyſſes, Ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥστε κέρα ἑστασαν *oculi tanquam cornua ſtabant*[c]; and that here he adds ἀποδειελιπῶς the word ἴδηται *viderit*; it is natural to infer, he meant by his *Horny* Gate the *Eye*. Nor ſhou'd it be forgot, that when the Poet comes to ſpeak of the *paſſage* of Dreams thro' theſe Gates, he neither makes mention of the Gates *themſelves* any more, nor *alters* his expreſſion by uſing an *epithet*, as Virgil does, but abſolutely fixes upon the *matter*, of which theſe Gates conſiſted; which to me ſeems a pretty plain intimation, that he wou'd have us attend to *this* eſpecially, as determining that he meant *ſubſtance*, and nothing elſe. But now, who in his right ſenſes will ſay, that Virgil's Gates are the *ſame* with Homer's? Gates placed on the *outſkirts* of the Elyſium; and of which the *Ivory*

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a Catull. carm. 65. v. 48. confer Drakenb. ad Sil. Ital. xvi. 206.

b Odyſſ. *a*. 640. & alibi.

c Odyſſ. τ. 211. confer Philoſtrat. 1. Icon. c. 27.

one (that is the *mouth* or *teeth* in Homer's ſenſe) is made *uſe* of to ſend Æneas thro'. Here wou'd be room for mirth, were there need of it to expoſe the receiv'd opinion. But I chuſe rather to obſerve, that Homer's Gates, tho' they might give Virgil a ſeaſonable hint (as the cuſtom of ſleeping in *Gateways* might Homer [d]) cou'd not however in their obvious and undoubted ſenſe, engage his attention any further. For by the *uſe* he makes of his fiction, it is beyond all contradiction plain, that what he was chiefly intent upon at the time, was, to turn out his Hero in a maſterly way, as was ſhewn above [e]: But dreams *going* in or *coming* out at the *Mouth* or *Eyes* cou'd, upon no ſuppoſition whatever, furniſh him with what he wanted, even a *gateway* on the *confines* of the *Elyſium*. — *Sixthly*, Homer calls his *Dreams*, as well thoſe that deceive, as thoſe that do not, by the name of ἀμενήνων *evanidorum*, which he alludes to again in another place [f]: But of this Virgil ſays nothing; unleſs he be underſtood to do ſo in the word *ſomni*; which in that reſtrain'd ſenſe of *dreams*, being equivalent to *ſopor*, and itſelf uſed for *deceptions*, as noted above [g], will make *both* gates *one*, and the ſubjects of them *falſa ſomnia*, contrary to ev'ry circumſtance of deſcription.— *Seventhly*,

[d] Odyſſ. ξ. 108. & v. 1. & Sil. Ital i. 66. ibique Drakenb. & Tacit. Annal. xiv. 44. ibique Lipſ.

[e] §. 25.

[f] Il. x. 200.

[g] §. 32.

The *dreams* of the *Ivory* Gate are by Homer ſaid to *deceive*, as ἔπε' ἀκρόαντα φέροντες *dicta imperfecta ferentes*; that is, they are meer reveries and idle *prattle*, (ὄναρ, as he calls them elſewhere[h]) attended with no ſenſible effects; as is plain from the *word* ἀκρόαντα, and from the *oppoſition* in the other gate, and from Penelope's declaring, ſhe thought her *dream*, of her geeſe being killed, to be of *this* ſort, becauſe when ſhe ſent to look in the morning, they were found alive, and feeding where they uſed. On the other hand, *dreams* of the *Horny* Gate, ſays our Author, ἔντυμα κραίνουσι *vera perficiunt*, conſiſt not in *dumb ſhew*, but leave certain *viſible* marks behind them, by which their *truth* and *reality* may be diſcern'd. Now upon *this* ſtate of the matter it becomes probable, that Homer's fiction had a regard, not to the *two* different kinds of *Viſions*, but of *Dreams*; that is, *Dreams* ſtrictly ſo called, and *Viſions* as a diſtinct ſpecies of them. For what he mentions under the *Ivory* Gate is nothing better, than what we ſhould term *talking* in our ſleep; and what he deſcribes under the *Horny* Gate, ſeems to relate to certain *repreſentations* made, becauſe men are ſaid to *ſee* them or their effects, and they to come in or go out at the *Eye*. Which is further confirm'd by ob-

[h] Odyſſ. τ. 548.

obſerving, that it is only in this more *enlarged* ſenſe of *Dreams* the fiction becomes appoſite to the ſubject in hand; ſince it cou'd be of no uſe to ſpeak of Viſions *only*, when Penelope wanted to convince Ulyſſes, that what ſhe thought ſhe had both *heard* and *ſeen* in her ſleep was an *idle dream*, as not having been attended with any *ſenſible* effects. But now, if this be the caſe, Homer's meaning is not only *different* from *that* put upon Virgil, but moreover here is a manifeſt *contrariety* between the two Authors in the *arrangement* of their *ſubjects*; inaſmuch as Homer places *idle dreams* under the *Ivory* Gate; whilſt Virgil on the contrary appropriates it to *Viſions*.--- *Eighthly*, It is moreover juſt matter of wonder, that this latter Author, if he intended to copy after the other, ſhou'd, above all things, have choſe to mention the *Influence* of the Infernal Deities, where no *ſuch* cauſe was either *needful* or *hinted* at in the original; (I mean in *reveries* and effects of a diſtemper'd brain) and that where a *cauſe* is clearly *ſuppoſed*, by the mention of *viſible* effects, and might therefore have been *ſpecified* with great *propriety* (that is in the matter of *true* dreams) he ſhou'd have dropt the ſubject, and left us rather to infer from his ſilence, that there was *none*. This is

ſuch

ſuch an ill-timing of *Improvements*, that I ſhou'd be more apt to think of Moliere's *Etourde* having been at work here, than an Author of any the leaſt character for propriety and juſtneſs of thought.—*Ninthly*, Finally, it is obvious, that Homer here gives us a *criterion*, whereby to judge of *true* dreams, even the *attendance of certain effects*. But of this Virgil makes no mention in his *ſuppoſed* repreſentation of this matter, tho' he does elſewhere [i]. On the contrary, where it is certain he talks of Viſions, that is, under the *Ivory* Gate, he plainly hints at *another* mark of *genuineſs*, even that of *time*; the ſelf-ſame Homer expreſſes by his νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ *noctis in conticinio*, and which this latter Author ſo *conſtantly* ſets down on all occaſions, that it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing he ſhou'd have omitted it *here*, where he is *profeſſedly* treating of this ſubject. Indeed ſo unaccountable ſeems this omiſſion to me, that I am tempted to infer from it, that Homer did not at all intend in this fiction to ſpeak of *Viſions*, but of *Dreams* in *general*, and that under the idea of *nocturnal impreſſions*, which were *generally* held to be of the *oracular* kind. With regard to *theſe*, the *criterion* given is very *ſuitable*, but not ſo with reſpect to *Viſions*, when the *inward* ſenſe moſt truly, or the particu-

[i] Æn. viii. 42. confer Sil. Ital. viii. 179.

lar

lar *time* of appearance, if once admitted to be a mark, ſeem to be much properer teſts of *genuineſs*. And as when we conſider, that Ulyſſes upon the *bare* hearing of his wife's dream, aſſures her, without more ado, that it certainly wou'd be *fulfilled*, we cannot but ſee the *receiv'd* opinion in his *aſſertion*: So again, when we turn to Penelope's *reply*, which the fiction contains, we cannot but diſcover the Poet's kind intention of endeavouring, by this timely and trueſt *caution*, to prevent a *popular* notion from becoming a cauſe of *error*. So that in this way of conſidering the matter, Homer wou'd be made to ſay, that, "as men are liable to "be affected in their ſleep, with diffe-"rent kinds of *Impreſſions*, ſome the meer "effects of *reſtleſneſs*, and others of a "*divine Influence*; all are not immedi-"ately to be accounted of the *oracular* "kind, but thoſe only which are fol-"lowed with certain *plain* and incon-"teſted *evidences*." And this agrees well with the *Introduction*, where *dreams*, the ſubject of the fiction, are called ἀμήχανοι, ἀκρόλοφοι, *difficilia, & ex ancipiti ſermone conflata*; and what is more, οὐδέ τι πάντα τελείεται ἀνθρώποισιν, *neque omnia hominibus perficiuntur*. Were this admitted, the obſervations made wou'd become much ſtronger, and the

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difference between the fictions of the two Poets appear more inconteſtably. In either way, however, it is plain, that Virgil did not, in the preſent caſe at leaſt, purloin from Homer wherewith to animate his work; but has given us herein a genuine ſample of his own great Genius.

§. 39. I truſt, after what has been ſaid to the point, we are in no danger of being miſled, where Interpreters have been: And when I conſider how far we are already advanced in our ſubject, I cannot help adding, that we ſeem to be in a fair way of giving a ſatisfactory ſolution to what has hitherto been thought not capable of it, and ſo of evincing ſtill further our Author's *ſole* and undoubted *property* in the ingenious contrivance now before us. For I deem it not poſſible for a *borrowed* thought to bear a meaning *conſiſtent* with itſelf and *appoſite* to the caſe in hand; and *that* meaning at the ſame time *not* to be *applicable* to the original. Chance indeed does wonders now and then; but it has not yet, and I believe never will be found, to overturn the old maxim, that things *agreeing* among themſelves cannot poſſibly *differ*, when compared to a third. But it is time to ſet about the work.

§. 40. The

§. 40. The laſt *word* in the deſcription of the Gate, we are now to conſider, is unqueſtionably the *ſubject* to which all the others relate: And *that* word, tho' it is generally underſtood to be uſed here of *Viſions*, it is remember'd no doubt has been proved[k] by more than one argument, *not* capable of *that* meaning in this place. Which being ſo, we have but *two* other ſenſes left to chuſe out of; the *one*, in the which it denotes *departed Spirits*; the *other*, in which it ſtands for the *Infernal Deities*. I need not, I think, alledge Authorities in proof of the *firſt* acceptation. It is the moſt common of any we meet with. But with reſpect to the *latter*, it may not be improper to direct to a paſſage where *Manes*, *Deus*, and *Umbra* will be found to be uſed as words of the ſame import[l].

[k] §. 37.

[l] Ovid Faſt. ii. 535.

§. 41. Now this *latter* ſenſe thoſe will be obliged to eſpouſe, who ſhall deem it to have been the Poet's intention in his SUNT *geminæ ſomni portæ*, to tell us, that juſt *where* Anchiſes broke off his diſcourſe with Æneas, *there* STOOD *two gates of ſleep*. For the *ſituation* of the Gate being hereby *fix'd* on the *confines* of the Elyſium, the *exitus Umbrarum* will imply they iſſued forth from *thence*; a circumſtance not *applicable* to any other claſs of Beings, but the *Infernal*

Deities, becauſe other *Shades*, that were believed to make their perſonal *appearances* here, were thought *never* to have *enter'd* there.

§. 42. The *caſe* of Patroclus in Homer[a], and *that* of Sichæus in Virgil[b], are too well known, that it ſhou'd be requiſite to recite them here in proof of the *notion* contain'd in thoſe celebrated lines of Virgil, where he talks of *wandring* Souls[c]. It is more to my purpoſe to obſerve, that thoſe *Animæ inhumatæ*, he there ſpeaks of, were not held *tumulo condite*, (the proper phraſe in this affair[d]) that is quieted, or *laid*, as we ſhould term it, till *funeral* honours were paid to them[e], whether their *bodies* cou'd be found or no[f]; after which they were thought to be *admitted* among the ſhades below, and if we may believe Patroclus's expreſs aſſertion[g], *never* more ſuffer'd to *range* abroad. — It is worthy of notice too, that tho' Virgil, in the abovecited paſſage, repreſents theſe ſouls as *hovering* about the Styx and parts adjacent, during their excluſion; yet, if I miſtake not, they were ſome of them, that were imagined to *reſide* where their bodies were, and thence to ſally forth at proper ſeaſons. The *caſe* of Polidore in Virgil[h] is a clear evidence in point; and ſo is the *account* Ovid gives us in the place laſt cited, of certain

[a] Iliad. ψ. 69.
[b] Æn. i. 357.
[c] Æn. vi. 326.
[d] Virg. Æn. iii. 39. & alibi.
[e] Ovid. Faſt. ii. 549.
[f] Virg. Æn. vi. 505. ix. 153.
[g] Il. ψ. 75.
[h] Æn. iii. 39. ſeq.

certain *apparitions*, to which he aſcribes the riſe of the *Feralia* among the Romans: And the reaſon of the thing Ammonius Hermias acquaints us with in a paſſage cited by the very learned Cuper [i], of which the purport is to aſſign the inbred *fondneſs* of theſe ſouls for their bodies as the cauſe of their cohabitation. In the mean while, whether or no the Heathens had this notion of ſouls *inhabiting* tombs from the Jews, who unqueſtionably entertain'd *ſuch* a conceit (as appears not only from expreſs paſſages cited by the learned Lightfoot [k], but moreover from their uſage of *praying* to the dead at their graves, as the worthy Vitringa proves at large [l].) This is not ſo certain, as that they thought theſe ſouls had a determined and fixt reſidence about their bodies in the grave, ſince they uſed thence to *call* them forth, and there to *conſult* them [m].—And ſeeing I am upon this ſubject, I beg leave to add here, that as no *funeral* honours were *generally* beſtow'd on perſons that had been *condemn'd to die*, (no not ſo much as any kind of lamentation) as is fully prov'd by the learned *Ramirez de Prado* [a]; all *ſuch* muſt of courſe have been rank'd in the number of ſpiritual *exiles* and wanderers: which, in the caſe of *unjuſtice* done to the ſufferers (for many ſhare in Pala-

[i] Obſerv. i. p. 140.

[k] Hor. Hebr. ad Jo. 2. 39.

[l] De Synag. Veter. 1 P. i. c. ii. p. 222.

[m] Virg. Eccl. viii. 98. Æn. iv. 490, 509. Horat. i. Serm. 8. 29. Sil. Ital. i. 98. Lucan. vi. 510.

[a] In Pentacontarcho cap. 17. p. 109. & cap. 20. p. 126. confer Comment. ad Curt. iii. c. 2. f.

medes's fate[b]; eſpecially in time of civil diſcords and confuſion) muſt have bore hard upon the common perſuaſion, and have leſſen'd greatly its good intentions and influences[c]; had it not been *ſeaſonably* taught, that the *falſo damnati crimine mortis*[d] were exempted from the general law, and ſhou'd be ſo far from faring the *worſe* in the other world for their hard uſage in this, that they ſhou'd be allowed to ſhare an *equal* degree of favour with the moſt *innocent* (*Infantum animis*[e]) and only ſubjected to undergo, as the beſt were[f], certain neceſſary purgations, in order to their admiſſion into the Elyſium. This I offer as a proper *ſolution* of thoſe difficulties Mr. Bayle and others have raiſed againſt Virgil's expreſſions in the paſſage here alluded to; and perhaps when the learned Author of the *Divine Legation of Moſes* comes to weigh it, he may think it preferable even to what he has favour'd us with upon this head[g]. But to return. There is yet *another* ſort of *wandring* ſpirits mentioned by the Ancients, of which Apuleius[h] gives us the following account. *Eſt & ſecundo ſignificatu ſpecies Dæmonum, animus humanus emeritus ſtipendiis vitæ corpore ſuo abjurans. Hunc vetere Latina Lingua ſentio Lemurem dictitatum. Ex his ergo Lemuribus, qui poſte-*

b Æn. ii. 82.

c Div. Legat. v. i. p. 207.

d Æn. vi. 430.

e ibid. v. 427.

f ibid. v. 735.

g V. i. p. 211. ſeqq.

h De Deo Socrat. p. 90. ſeq.

poſterorum ſuorum curam ſortitus, placato & quieto nomine domum poſſidet, Lar dicitur familiaris: Qui vero ab adverſa vitæ merita, nullis bonis ſedibus, incerta vagatione, ceu quodam exilio punitur, inane terriculamentum hominibus bonis, cæterum noxium malis, id genus plerique Larvas putabant. Theſe ſpectres were thought to fright men into *madneſs*, and hence all that were *mad*, were call'd *Larvati*. Feſtus. *Larvati ſunt furioſi & mente mortui, quaſi Larvis & ſpectris exterriti.* It is this ſenſe Plautus goes upon, when he ſays, *Larvæ hunc atque intemperiæ, inſaniæque agitant ſenem*[i]. A late Author in his eſſays on the Demoniacks of the N. T. thought this notion of the *Larvati* among the Romans, ſufficient ground for him to explain away all that is ſaid of Demoniacal poſſeſſions in the ſacred writings; as if they too meant no more than *Epileptick* fits or *madneſs*, aſcribed by the vulgar to *Dæmons*, or ſpectres, but in truth occaſion'd by *natural* cauſes. Tho' I will not enter here into that controverſy, becauſe not to my purpoſe; I cannot however let it go by without obſerving, that this Author has been very unhappy in endeavouring to *confine* the ſenſe of the word δαιμονίζεσθαι to that of *natural* madneſs only, when if he had left it at *large*, he had

[i] Aulul. Act. iv. Sc. iv. 15.

had ſpoke more agreeably to the uſage of both ſacred and exotick writers [k]. But this by the way. I ſhall only add a finiſhing paſſage out of Apuleius, which contains in one view all the whimſies of the Ancients about apparitions. *At tibi, Æmiliane, pro iſto mendacio duet Deus iſte, ſuperum & Inferum commeator, utrorumque Deorum malam gratiam, ſemperque obvias ſpecies mortuorum; quicquid umbrarum eſt uſquam, quicquid Lemurum, quidquid Larvarum oculis tuis oggerat: Omnia noctium occurſacula, omnia buſtorum formidamina, omnia pulchrorum terriculamenta.*

[k] Vide Bos in N. T. p. 61. Alberti in præf. ad Obſerv. Sacr. in fine &p. 85. & Cuper. Obſerv. iii. p. 305. adde Æſchyl. vii. adv. Theb. v. 1009. Euripid. Phœnic. v. 895. Polyb. in Excerpt. Peireſc. p. 145. Lucian Philopſ. p. 337.

§. 43. Accordingly ſince by theſe evidences it is plain, that *wandring* ſouls were inhabitants of *our*, and not of the *other* world, if the ſituation of the Gate on the confines of the Elyſium be kept to, the *umbræ* here mentioned cannot poſſibly be underſtood but of the *Infernal Deities*; and then the Poet will be made to ſay, that whereas the *Ivory* Gate was a paſſage to the *Infernal Deities*, when they choſe to appear under a *borrowed* form; the *Horny* Gate, on the contrary, was *that* they came thro', when they intended to make their *perſonal* applications to men. And this interpretation agrees well with the meaning of the word *verus*, which often denotes

notes *ipſe* [l]: It ſuits likewiſe with Virgil's conſtant method of *diſtinguiſhing* in this manner between an *apparition* and viſion [m]: But above all, it maintains the oppoſition of *veris* to *falſa* exactly in the *ſame* ſenſe in which our Author himſelf ſtates it in thoſe remarkable words of Æneas to Venus, [a]

[l] Æn. iii. 310.

[m] Æn. i. 357. & alibi.

[a] Æn. i. 410.

Quid natum toties crudelis tu quoque falſis
Ludis imaginibus? *Cur dextræ jungere dextram*
Non datur ac veras *audire & reddere* voces.

Only here it ſhou'd be noted, that tho' there are authorities for *apparitions* ſeen in *ſleep* [b], yet the expreſſion being too nearly the ſame with ſounds perceiv'd by men, whoſe *ſenſe* of hearing is *obſtructed*, and ſights like *thoſe* we are ſpeaking of, being the ſure way to *diſpel* ſleep [c], it will remove the *ſeeming* abſurdity of the thought in this place, as well as in all others of the like nature, to underſtand the word *ſomnus* not in its ſtrict ſenſe, but of *night*, the time when men are wont to indulge their cravings in this way; which acceptation is founded on many very clear authorities, and among others on this of Virgil, *Libra die ſomnique pares ubi fecerit horas* [d]. This admitted, we ſhall have gain'd a tolerable ſolution

[b] Æn. i. 357.

[c] Horat. Epod. 5. 96.

[d] Georg i. 208. confer. Æn. i. 474 & Sil. Ital. iii. 200. ibique Commentt.

ſolution of the word *Cornea*, taking the Poet herein to allude to the *horns* of the moon, which he frequently mentions in other places [e]: And what is more, we ſhall be furniſhed beſides with a very good reaſon for the uſe of the word *facilis* in this place, ſeemingly with *peculiarity* and in *oppoſition* to the other Gate; ſince the *Manes* ſay in Propertius's Language [f].

[e] Georg. i. 428, 433. & Æn. iii. 645. & alibi.

[f] iv El. 7. v. 89. confer Virg Georg. i. 477. & Æn. v. 738. & Sil. Ital. v. 619. Lucan. vii. 179. & Comment ad Gen. 32. 26.

Nocte *vagæ ferimur, nox clauſus* liberat *umbras*,
Errat & objecta Cerberus ipſe ſera:
Luce jubent Leges *Lethæa ad ſtagna reverti*;
Nos vehimur, vectum nauta recenſet onus.

§. 44. And now when theſe particulars come to be laid together, the plain meaning of the *whole* in this way will be, that there are *two* periods of *night*; the *one* it comes *in*, the *other* it goes *out* at; both of them diſtinguiſhed with peculiar incidents, ſuch as *apparitions* in the *firſt*, and *viſions* in the *laſt*. And the *moral* of the fiction, if I may be allow'd the expreſſion, will amount to this; "that juſt as it wou'd be highly "unreaſonable to take ev'ry nocturnal "*appearance* for a *ſubſtantial* reality and "the *very* thing repreſented by it, ſince "there

" there is confeſſedly a *ſort* that is not
" ſo, namely *Viſions*: In the like man-
" ner it wou'd be abſurd to imagine our
" Author had been ſpeaking of an *actual*
" deſcent into hell, and a *ſtrict* and pro-
" per *converſe* with the dead; as it was
" well known, there was a deſcent and
" converſe in *imagery* and ſhew, uſed by
" many, and open to all that were diſ-
" poſed for it; and conſequently that
" the Poet ſhou'd be underſtood to have
" been treating of this latter kind, that is,
" initiation into the Eleuſinian myſteries,
" eſpecially ſince he thought proper to
" bring his Hero back thro' the Gate of
" *Viſion.*

§. 45. *Otium ſine literis*, ſays Seneca, *mors eſt, & hominis vivi ſepultura* [g]. And very truly. For to ſpeak with another Philoſopher, *Studia adoleſcentiam alunt, ſenectutem oblectant; ſecundas res ornant, adverſis ſolatium ac perfugium præbent; delectant domi; non impediunt foris* [h]. There is however an *Otium*, which is adviſeable; *that*, I mean, when *Otiamur, quo laboremus.* For it is true Doctrine, that all work and no play is the direct road to *paſſive* ſtupidity: Wiſer and more impartial judges than ſchoolboys have thought ſo. For ſays a very grave philoſopher [i], *Nec in eadem intentione æqualiter retinenda*

[g] Ep. 82.

[h] Cic. pro Arch. c. 7.

[i] Senec. de Tranq. An. c. 16.

mens eſt, ſed ad jocos revocanda. Cum pueris Socrates ludere non erubeſcebat: & Cato vino laxabat animum, curis publicis fatigatum: & Scipio triumphale illud & militare corpus movit ad numeros. And Phœdrus more expreſsly:

——— *Ludus animo debet aliquando dari,*
ad cogitandum melior ut redeat tibi. [k]

k iii. Fab. 14.

To be *idle* then at proper times is no fault, ſo it be the way to greater *diligence.* Which tho' it may ſound odd, and ſomewhat like *cold* water cauſing *heat*, is yet in truth the very caſe; and ſerves to prove, there really is a *vis inertiæ*, or, in Scipio's phraſe, a time when σολάξοντες πλείονα πεφόσομεν [l].

l Plutarch. Apopthegm. & Cic. iii. Off. c. 1.

§. 46. What of all this will it be ſaid? Why, I intend it juſt for what the queſtion ſeems to blame it for: A ſhort avocation from the ſubject that engaged us laſt; and at the ſame time a little trifling amuſement, that may furniſh us with freſh ſpirits to go thro' the remainder of our taſk. To ſpeak the truth, I choſe it for being remote from my purpoſe, tho' appoſite in point of circumſtance, that it might ſerve to efface for a while the traces of our former impreſſions, and thereby fit us the better to attend to and receive ſuch other, as I am now going

going to impart in a quite different way. For not content with having offered *one* ſolution, but willing to purſue the force of words as far as it will go, I uſher in *another* by obſerving, that SUNT *geminæ ſomni portæ* may be conſtrued not as in the *former* caſe, *there ſtood*, but indefinitely, *there* ARE *two gates of ſleep*; which interpretation no one can ſay is *forc'd*, or *inconſiſtent* with the *turn* of the ſentence; and I am ſure, that it is by no means contrary to the *uſe* and application of it in this place. So far from it, that conſidering, theſe words are ſeemingly a *beginning* of a different matter, and are *actually* a beautiful *preparative* for the cloſe of the whole narration, I imagine, this *latter* ſenſe will be thought much more *agreeable* to *theſe* circumſtances than the *other*, as well as more for the *credit* of our Author. For in this manner the thought becomes not only *lofty* and pompous, raiſing the attention to ſomething *new*, tho' ſtill *relative* to the ſubject; but what is well worthy of notice, it premiſes a *natural* obſervation for the *Ground-work* whereon to build a fiction: whereas in the *other* way all this is loſt in one *round* and unprepared *aſſertion*, for which we are left to ſeek for a *reaſon* in the ſubſequent *circumſtances* of deſcription. Nor

is it any *objection*, that the *Ivory* Gate is by the *uſe* made of it, apparently *determined* to have ſtood on the *outſkirts* of the Elyſium; becauſe, tho' this be true, yet is nothing of this kind *certainly* deducible from the *ſentence* now before us: And even *that* determination needs not to affect the *other* gate, which, let it have ſtood where it wou'd, muſt *inevitably* have been mentioned the moment *ſleep* came to be ſo, or our Author have been guilty of an *omiſſion*, blameable in itſelf, and much more ſo in a writer that knows any thing of ſtile, and the proper methods of connecting ſentences in an agreeable and inſtructive manner. In truth, the *uſe* of the Ivory Gate appears evidently to be brought in as a *conſequence* from the premiſes; or, which comes to the ſame, the *fact* goes before to *prepare* for and juſtify the *uſe* to be made of it: And therefore the Author's meaning is clearly reducible to this, "that there are in-"deed two gates of ſleep, but that the "latter only being ſituated on the borders "of the Elyſium, it was thro' this his "Hero took his way." I own ſomething is here added, that is not expreſs'd, but which however may well be thought implied in the deſcriptive circumſtances of this gate, as already ſhewn[m], and which even without that muſt be underſtood,

[m] §. 25. ſeqq.

or

or elſe there will be a chaſm, and the following ſentence thereby becomes unconnected.

§. 47. It is *next* obſervable, that to ſay there are *two gates* of ſleep, is to declare there are *two* different *roads* ſleep is wont to range in. For not only the *intention* and *uſe* of gates is to afford a *paſſage*; but Authors moſt frequently take the word in this ſenſe. Virgil's *qua data porta ruunt* is proof enough in the caſe [a]. And this when ſtript of the metaphor, means that there are *two* diſtinct *ways* in which ſleep *operates*, and men are *affected* by it. I here add the idea of operation and influence, both becauſe ſleep is clearly *relative* to ſubjects it may work upon, and becauſe nothing is more common among ſacred and exotick writeus [b], than to repreſent *gates* as an emblem of *power*; founded, as I ſuppoſe, upon the old *cuſtom* of making Laws and tranſacting ſtate affairs in the gates of cities [c]: nor ſhou'd I omit mentioning here a paſſage of Virgil's, which much illuſtrates what we have been ſaying; *that*, I mean, where undertaking to deſcribe the manner of declaring war among the Romans, he uſhers in his account with *ſunt geminæ belli portæ* [d]. For tho' I'm not ignorant, that the Poet ſpeaks here of the *real* gates of Janus's Temple, yet why were they

[a] Æn. i. v. 88.

[b] Vid. Comment. ad Math. 16. 18.

[c] Hom. Il. γ. 149, 153.

[d] Æn. vii. 607. confer Æn. i. 298. & Maſſoni Jani Temp. reſerat.

they call'd *Gates of war?* if not, becauſe upon the opening of them war *enſued.* And why were there *two* of them? but to ſignify the *two* different *kinds* of war, inteſtine namely and foreign. Juſt as Janus himſelf was repreſented with *two* faces; either to denote the union of the Sabines and Romans, when his Temple was founded [e]; or becauſe every *gate* (Janua) has *two* ſides [f]; or becauſe being the God of *time* he ſees things *paſt* and *future*; or more truly (as the *name* and *age* of Œnotrius will juſtify us in ſaying) becauſe being no other than Noah, he had inhabited the *ante* and *poſt*-deluvian world [g].

e Serv. ad Æn. i. 291.
f Ovid. Faſt. i. 135.
g Arnob. adv. Gent. vi.

§. 48. Correſpondently to theſe obſervations it follows, that, as the *Ivory* Gate manifeſtly regards *ſleep* ſtrictly ſo called, that, namely, which is *periodical*; this of *Horn* muſt relate to the *other* kind of it, to wit that which is *perpetual*, ſince ſleep operates only in *theſe* two different ways. And conſequently the *Horny* Gate turns out at laſt to be the gate and *door of death* [h]; the πύλη σκότου, νυκτός, ακέροντος, ᾅδου, θανάτου; the *porta Ditis*, *mortis*, *lethi* [i]; the true and proper *way* of ſouls to the Infernal Shades, to the Regions of departed Spirits. Nor do we hereby force on our Author a ſenſe that deviates in the leaſt, either from the *truth*

h Job 38. 17.
i Vid. Grot. Elſn. & Albert. ad Matth 16. 18. & Propert. iv. El. 12. v. 2. & Sil. Ital. xi. 187.

truth of things, or the receiv'd *figures* of ſpeech. For *ſleep* is not only in reality *like* death, by reaſon of the temporary *interuption* of Commerce and Intercourſe between ſoul and body, which might yield ſufficient ground for this *ſcheme:* But *death* is in truth nothing elſe than a *continued* ſleep; a *continued* ſtate of *divorce* between the conſtituent parts of our humanity; and differs therefore from it when view'd in this light, not in kind, but *degree.* This is enough to ſhew the *propriety* of the ſimilitude; and the language of the beſt writers will abundantly prove the *uſe* of it. Thus Homer calls ſleep, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς [a]; Virgil *placidæ ſimillima morti* [b]; Tully *mortis imago* [c]; and Xenophon more fully, ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ θανάτῳ ὕπνος ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν [d]. It was this *reſemblance* the Poets thought ſufficient ground for making *ſleep* near a kin to, and calling him the *brother* of death [e]; and this likewiſe, whereon they founded the expreſſion of *ſepultus ſomno* [f]. But to come cloſer to the point, there is nothing more common with Authors of both Languages, than expreſly to give *death* the name of *ſleep.* Thus Homer ſays, κοιμήσαλο χάλκειον ὕπνον [g], which Virgil tranſlates *ferreus urget ſomnus* [h]; and Horace, whom Silius Italicus imitates [i], has in the

[a] Odſſ. υ. 80.
[b] Æn vi. 522.
[c] Tuſc. i. 38.
[d] Cyrop. p. 656. Edit. Hutchinſ.
[e] Hom. Il. ξ. 231. & Il. π. 672. Virg. Æn. vi. 278. Senec. Herc. Fur. v. 106. & Munkeſ. ad Aygin. p. 1.
[f] Virg. Æn. ii. 265. & vi 424. & ix. 236.
[g] Il. λ. 241. & π. 454. & hymn. in Mercur. 289.
[h] Æn. x. 745.
[i] V. 528. conſer vii. 632.

the ſame ſenſe, *ſurge ne longus tibi ſomnus detur*[k]. Hence death is frequently call'd by Homer παννλεγὴς, *longum ſomnum afferens*[l]; and what is more remarkable ſtill, hence the verbs that denote *ſleeping*, are us'd for *dying*, as is abundantly proved by Cerda[m], Meurſius[a], and Barnes[b]. If among all theſe various authorities, there appears not any, where *porta ſomni* is uſed for the *Gate of death*, and perhaps none ſuch can be produc'd; this ſurely ought not to be raiſed into an objection againſt underſtanding theſe words in that ſenſe *here*, after it has been ſo fully proved, both that a *Gate* is aſcrib'd to death, and that death is expreſly call'd *ſleep*. For the *union* of thoughts, others had hitherto kept *aſunder* (which is all that can be made of this obſervation) appears nothing ſtrange, where the *ſubject* they relate to remains invariably the *ſame*, and is conſider'd in the ſame *light*. Nay, the *only* difficulty that cou'd be againſt ſuch a *coalition* of ideas wou'd be, if there was any *impropriety* in applying them *ſeparately* to their common *ſtandard*; which is ſo far from being the caſe here, that the contrary is clear beyond all contradiction, both from *reaſon* and a well-ſupported *uſage*. And therefore, as the *expreſſion*, we have been conſidering, proves

k iii. Od. 11. v. 38.

l Il. Σ. 70. & Odyſſ. τ. 145. & ω. 134.

m ad Virg. Æn. ix. 445.

a ad Lycophr. v. 430.

b ad Anacreont. 385.

proves to be, not ſo much a *new* thought, as an *old* one in a new *dreſs*, there ſeems nothing further needful to evince the juſtneſs of our interpretation, than that it ſhou'd be ſhewn agreeable to the circumſtances of deſcription, or fitteſt to account for the *uſe*, this Gate is ſaid to have ſerved; which, I think, I can do with the greateſt eaſe to myſelf, and hope, not without ſome credit accruing to my Author.

§. 49. For if ſuch was the Poet's meaning; if he intended to ſpeak here of *ſleep*, as it denotes *death*; what other ſubjects cou'd he poſſibly think of, as ſurviving that laſt act of the human drama, but *departed ſpirits?* And what word cou'd he have choſe to ſignify theſe by, ſo proper as that of UMBRÆ, which, when uſed of *Agents*, ever bears this ſenſe in its firſt and primary intention? I will not trifle with the Reader ſo much, as to enter upon a formal proof of this aſſertion, which even Schoolboys ought to know, or elſe for ever ſay *adieu* to letters: But rather obſerve it once for all, as no inſignificant argument in favour of the opinion we are offering, that it obliges us no where to go in ſearch of *uncommon* or *unſupported* meanings; but keeps cloſe to that ſenſe of words, which immediately ariſes from the context, and is

founded beſides on the beſt authorities. But to proceed.

§. 50. Tho' it may be ſaid, that upon our ſuppoſition the word VERIS ſeems ſuperfluous in this deſcription, there being no ſouls that are not *realities*; yet this difficulty vaniſhes, when we conſider, that this Gate is not mentioned by itſelf, but in *oppoſition* to another, which makes the adding of certain epithets, that wou'd not otherwiſe be proper, to become a real *beauty*, and an inſtance of our Author's juſtneſs of thought. For as I have proved it above [a], that *inſomnia* were ſometimes call'd *umbræ*, it became neceſſary, if the Poet intended a *different* ſubject by this appellation, (which it has been ſhewn [b] he did) to give ſome *mark* of diſtinction, whereby the *ambiguity* might be removed; and none ſo proper as *that* he employs. For whilſt it ſerves to heighten the contraſt between the two gates, in the *ſtrongeſt* manner, and juſt *where* it might be moſt expected; it gives us plainly to underſtand *beſides*, that *Viſions* were indeed *Umbræ*, as being of the *mimick* kind, but *unſubſtantial* ones, exiſting only in the *imagination*: whereas ſouls were *repreſentatives* of the *ſubſtantial* ſort, *real* exiſtences, *vera corporis ſimulachra*; which Virgil himſelf carries ſo far in another place, as even

[a] §. 33.

[b] §. 37.

to

to call them *corpora* [c], partly, I ſuppoſe, on account of that ſort of nature their Philoſophy aſcribed to them [d], and partly becauſe it was held, that ſouls retained the very *marks* and blemiſhes of the body [e]. Be that as it will, the *oppoſition* is apparently *juſt*, even without going theſe lengths: And *this* ſenſe of the word not *barely* ſupported by thoſe of Andromache to Æneas [f], *verane te facies, verus mihi nuncius affers, viviſne?* And Æneas's reply, *vivo — vera vides*; but the *propriety* of its *uſe* in this very *matter*, and in this very *ſenſe*, is clearly evinc'd from thoſe ſeveral deſcriptions of viſions I have produc'd before out of Ovid [g]. In the mean while, were I allow'd to indulge my fancy for once, I wou'd venture to raiſe the antitheſis ſtill higher, and ſo to obviate the objection of ſuperfluity ſtill more unanſwerably, by advancing, that perhaps the Poet might mean by his *Inſomnia*, not Viſions in *General*, but that *particular* ſort of them which was of *departed Spirits*. For it is plain, that there is no more impropriety in ſuppoſing *Inſomnia* to be put for *Umbrarum Imagines*, that is a *generical* word to bear the ſenſe of a *ſpecifick* expreſſion, than *ſomnia* to be uſed for *inſomnia*. Neither can it be imagined, that ſuch a *limited* acceptation of the

[c] Georg. iv. 475.

[d] Æn. vi. 292.

[e] Plato in Gorg. p. 524.

[f] Æu. iii. 310. confer Æn. i. 409. Senec. Ep. 102. Sil. Ital. xvii. 554. Petron. Sat. c. 83. ibiq; Comment.

[g] § 33.

word is inconſiſtent with that *extent* of operation, Authors aſcribe to the Infernal Gods in the affair of *Viſions*; ſince the mention of a *particular* caſe does not exclude *others*. Beſides which it ſhou'd be noted, that what is ſaid of *Viſions* under the Ivory Gate is not only *applicable* to that ſort of them, I here ſuppoſe our Author had in view, but to them ſeemingly with greater *propriety*, conſidering the place whence they are ſaid to be ſent, even the *Regions* of departed Spirits; and further ſtill, that if we look into the Poets, and eſpecially Virgil, we ſhall find them to make *uſe* of this *particular* kind of viſion ſo often, that one wou'd be apt to imagine, they had it *uppermoſt* in their thoughts. If for theſe reaſons this *reſtriction* were admitted, the Poet wou'd be made to ſay, that the *Horny* Gate afforded a paſſage to the ſouls *themſelves*, (*ipſiſſimis umbris*) whilſt the *Ivory* one cou'd do it only to their *repreſentatives*, thoſe *images* of them ſeen in ſleep. And this ſenſe of *verus* needs not to be proved by any freſh arguments, ſince thoſe that ſhew the word to have been uſed for a *reality* in contradiſtinction to a *borrowed* form, eſtabliſh this meaning too by neceſſary implication. But whether this improvment be allowed or no, this however is clear

clear enough, that the addition of the epithet was not without reaſon. Which will ſtill appear further, if we call to mind what has already been obſerv'd, that *ſouls* and *viſions* were held to be under the *ſame* predicament with reſpect to their *mimick* nature [h]; and what is more, that they bore not only the name of *umbra*, but almoſt ev'ry *other* appellation in common. I gave a liſt above [i] of words that are uſed to denote viſions, which, upon enquiry into the paſſages here cited [k], will all of them, excepting that of *ſpecies*, be found applied likewiſe to ſouls. Hence to prevent miſtakes, to which this *community* of *names*, and partial *ſimilitude* of *natures* might give occaſion, Virgil is ever careful to add the word *ipſe* (as here he has done that of *verus*) when he wou'd be underſtood to ſpeak of *real* ſouls, and not of *viſionary* repreſentations of them. Thus in one place [l] he ſays *ipſa — inhumati venit Imago*; and in another, *ipſius umbra Creuſæ* [m].

[h] Æn. x. 636.

[i] §. 33.

[k] Hom. Il. Ψ. 72, 104. Sil. Ital. xiii. 779. Virg. Æn. vi. 48, 292. viii. 298. Georg. iv. 472.

[l] Æn. i. 357.

[m] Æn. ii. 772.

§. 51. Thus far then we are at leaſt *conſiſtent*. But what will be ſaid, if the following particulars ſhou'd carry the matter further; if beſides this *congruity* they ſhou'd point out a *neceſſity* of admitting our Conſtruction? I hope this wou'd be allow'd to paſs for a clear proof that we are not hunting for *novelties*, but

but follow very obſequiouſly where our Author leads us. Let us ſee how the caſe ſtands. The *Horny* Gate, it ſeems, yielded to theſe ſouls FACILEM EXITUM. This I underſtand, ſo far as the *obvious* meaning of the words goes; but cannot help aſking, *whence* this *exitus* is to be fixt? For I truſt, the *uſe* of ſuch a word as this, without the leaſt intimation of *place*, either *expreſly*, or *implicitly*, is not juſt writing; beſides, that as our Author thought it proper to hint at a *like* circumſtance in the other gate by his *ad Cælum*, it becomes natural to expect he ſhou'd have dropt ſomething here that ſhou'd *anſwer* it. This is plain enough: And ſome, perhaps, will ſay, that this is done in that introductory ſentence, *ſunt geminæ ſomni portæ.* But not to repeat what was alledg'd [a], to prove that theſe words do not *certainly* determine the ſituation of the Gates, and are capable of *another* and a *better* conſtruction, I obſerve here, that whoever offers this for a ſolution, *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.* For if upon this ſuppoſition, nothing was needful to be added here, as the way came from the *nether* Regions, and thence only; neither was it in the other caſe, as the ſame way led directly to the *upper*, and no where elſe, and ſo *ad Cælum* becomes a manifeſt redundancy.

[a] §. 46.

dundancy. Here then the Horny Gate affords ſomething in character, an *argumentum cornutum* I mean; which, who will, may try his ſtrength with. In our way of interpretation we need not concern ourſelves with it, as we maintain, that it was *not* the intention of the Poet to ſay any thing of *ſituation*, in the introductory ſentence to his fiction, and that even the *Ivory* Gate had been *equally* undetermined as to *this* particular, were it not for the paſſage of Æneas thro' it. This hinders not, but that we may make uſe of this weapon to command aſſent to *one* inference we deduce from theſe premiſſes, even that our Author intended to wrap up this circumſtance of *place* in the very word *exitus*; and to this *other*, that conſequently he was here deſcribing the *Gate* of *death*. All which is ſuch true Logick, as muſt do the buſineſs effectually, if it can be ſhewn, that the *term* in queſtion cou'd ſerve the *purpoſe* we imagine it was intended for. And this let the following inſtances determine. Thus Cornelius Nepos [b] ſays, *hunc Exitum plerique habuerunt*; and Curtius [c], *hic exitus Parmenionis fuit*; and Suetonius, *ſceleratos brevi dignum exitum facturos* [d]; Heraclides Pontius has ἄχρι ἀχιλλέως ἐξόδου [e]; and Virgil, *hic exitus illum ſorte tulit* [f]; and Ovid, *Cœlumque erit exitus illi*:

[b] Phoc. c. 4.
[c] vii. c. 2. ibiq; Freinſh.
[d] Neron. c. 46. ibiq; Caſaub. conferBurman. ad Petron. Sat. c. 2. p. 83.
[e] ap. Elſner. ad Luc. 9. 31.
[f] Æn. 11 554.

g Met. xv. 449. *illi* g: All which paſſages ſufficiently ſhew, that the word *vita* is underſtood; which Cornel. Nepos has therefore alſo expreſs'd, when ſpeaking of Eumenes, h cap. 13. he ſays, *talem habuit excitum vitæ* h. And the *ſame*, or *like* ſupplement, we may obſerve added to the verb in theſe *two* following paſſages; the *firſt* a moſt appoſite one, out of Silius Italicus, where i xi. 186. it is ſaid i,

——— *nullo nos invida tanto*
Armavit natura bono, quam Janua mortis
Quod pateat, & vita *non æqua* exire
poteſtas.

And the *other* a no leſs pertinent one out k Triſt. v. 6. confer Bentlei. ad Horat. iii. carm. ii. v. 18. of Ovid k, which runs thus,

Spiritus, *hic Scythica quem non bene ducimus aura,*
Quod cupio, membris exeat *ante meis.*

Antonine expreſſes this by Ἐξιέναι τῆς βιοῦ l ap. Elſner. l. cit. & τοῦ ζῆν l. And nearer ſtill to our ſubject, m in Octav. c 99. Suetonius m tells us of Auguſtus, *ſortitus exitum facilem & qualem ſemper optaverat.* In direct oppoſition to which Virgil has, in one place, of Dido in her laſt a Æn. iv. 694. agonies, *difficiles obitus* a; and of Turb Æn. x. 630. nus in another, *gravis exitus* b; the ſame c Odyſſ. x. 28. with Homer's αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος c. I only add,

add, for fear of a miſconſtruction, that all theſe inſtances are not alledg'd here with the *ſame* intent; ſome being deſigned to prove, that *exitus* is expreſsly uſed for *diſceſſus e vita aut corpore*, to ſpeak in Tully's words; and others to evince, that it is the ſame with Horace's *ultima linea rerum:* The firſt, in direct ſupport of what was incumbent upon me to ſhew; the laſt, not as applicable *literally* to ſouls, but as very properly *pointed* to in a fiction, of which *Death* is the ſubject matter.

§. 52. By theſe ſteps we have at laſt clear'd ev'ry circumſtance *expreſs'd* in this deſcription, unleſs it be the *matter* of the Gate, which I have no mind to ſay any thing to, till I have ſubmitted *one* particular *more* to my Reader's judgment. It is an obſervation, that ariſes again from the words *ad Cœlum* in the other Gate. For tho', as I juſt now argued, that expreſſion hints very plainly at the *place*, *whence* viſions were thought to come; yet it is manifeſt, that it does ſo only becauſe it *explicitly* mentions the place *whither* they go. Hence I wou'd deduce, that ſomething *like* this too had certainly been ſet down in the Gate we are conſidering, was it not eaſy to ſupply this from the general turn of the whole. I ſuppoſe, no one will ſay, that

the *Inſomnia* and the *Umbræ* ſteer'd both the ſame courſe, or that *ad Cælum* relates to 'em alike. For if ſo, why was not this circumſtance mentioned under the *Horny* Gate, which is the firſt in order; when it might, perhaps, have been thought to extend *equally* to the ſubjects of the one and the other Gate? Or rather, why was it not made part of the Introduction? In that caſe the point had been clear; in any other it remain'd ſubject to miſconſtructions: A fault in ſtyle, judges will not excuſe in Poets, who are ſuppos'd to be bleſs'd with a greater ſhare of true diſcernment, or at leaſt are imagin'd to weigh their thoughts more maturely, than writers of another claſs. For theſe reaſons we muſt look further for a *ſolution*; and not very far neither. We need but collect all the *circumſtances* here mentioned, and the thing will appear ſoon enough. For who is there, that can obſerve theſe Gates to be *two*: that they are feigned to conſiſt of quite *different materials*: that in the *Horny* Gate the ſubjects of it are called *realities*; in the *Ivory* one meer *mimick* repreſentations: that in the *firſt* there is a *free* egreſs, without an impelling cauſe; in the *latter*, a *ſupreme* direction and *impulſe*: and that in the one the *terminus a quo* is juſt the other's *ad*

quem?

quem? who, I ſay, can ſee ſuch a *continued* Antitheſis, expreſs'd beſides by an *adverſative* particle *(ſed)* in the *one* Gate; and yet perſuade himſelf that the *ſole* remaining circumſtance (that I mean of *ad Cælum* in its *literal* import) ſhou'd have no *oppoſite?* It were to entertain a very mean opinion of Virgil, to think he cou'd be guilty of ſuch an *omiſſion.* Or more truly, it were to diſcover a very ſhallow apprehenſion in ourſelves, to own the leaſt tendency to ſuch a *ſuſpicion.* For what more obvious, than that in the ſame manner as the Poet thought proper in the *one* caſe, by mentioning the place, the *Inſomnia* went *to*, to give us to underſtand *whence* they came; ſo in the *other* he intended by ſpecifying in a *comprehenſive* word the *place*, the *umbræ* came *from*, to tell us *whither* they went. This ſets things right; and diſplays withal ſuch a maſtery in the *uſe* and arrangement of words, as cannot be ſufficiently admired. For here are terms, which tho' they *expreſs* but *one* meaning, were yet intended, as they were capable, to carry a *double* one: And theſe terms are ſo nicely diſpoſed, that they not only give *light* to each other, and moſt clearly direct to this *croſs* and *complicated* ſenſe; but keep up beſides ſuch a *contrariety* of motion between *both* ſubjects,

from and *to* the utmoſt *extremes* of oppoſition, as muſt be allow'd no leſs a beauty in *Poetical*, than it is in *Muſical* Compoſitions. From all which I wou'd infer, that as in the *one* caſe *ad Cælum* muſt needs be ſupplied with *ad Inferis*; ſo in the *other* caſe, *Exitus e vita* muſt be compleated with *ad Manes* [a], or rather *ſub Umbras*; when the Antitheſis will be the ſame with what Virgil expreſſes in another place [b], after Homer [c] and Heſiod [d], in theſe words,

[a] Æn. xii. 648.

[b] Æn. vi. 578.
[c] Il. θ. 15. & o. 191.
[d] Theog. v. 720.

——— *tenditque* ſub umbras
Quantus ad Æthereum Cœli *ſuſpectus Olympum.*

Being in this manner enabled to account for a particular, we ſhall in vain ſeek a reaſon for upon any other ſuppoſition, this muſt be allow'd to plead ſtrongly in favour of our opinion: whileſt the ſupplement we are clearly led to make here, introduces *ſuch* a circumſtance into this ſubject, as turns this commendation into an unanſwerable evidence.

§. 53. Accordingly Virgil's thought, ſo far as we have been conſidering it, is what Homer expreſſes by [e] ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη ἀϊδόσδε βεβήκει; or as our Author himſelf ſets it out, *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata ſub umbras* [f].

[e] Il. χ. 362.

[f] Æn. xi. 831. confer Æn. x. 819.

Which

Which being ſo, it will be expected, ſince a *Gate* is feigned for the purpoſe, that it ſhou'd conſiſt of ſuch *matter*, as may afford in the *fiction* an *eaſy paſſage* to ſouls, thus moving to another world, and ſuit in the *truth* with the particular idea of an *eaſy death*. For it is not only evident, that the *facility* we lay ſuch ſtreſs upon, is a neceſſary requiſite in the *firſt* caſe, ſeeing there is no Janitor mentioned here, as under the other Gate, (*Manes*) but it is clear too, that Virgil expreſsly uſing the word *facilis*, it was *that* particular he wou'd be underſtood to have eſpecially in view in the matter of his Gate. Theſe poſtulata therefore are unqueſtionable; tho' not more ſo, than I am ſure they have been fully anſwered by our Author in his epithet of CORNEA. For *ſouls* being thought by Pythagorus (whoſe notions Virgil follows) to be *auræ ſimplicis ignes* [g], meer emanations from that *fire* that paſſes thro' the ſun, moon, and ſtars [h]; (and therefore compar'd by our Author to the faint light of a new moon [i];) what cou'd the Poet deviſe more proper for the *paſſage* of ſuch Beings than *Horn*; which not only eaſily *tranſmits* the rays of light (or fire, which comes to the ſame thing) but was actually made uſe of by the ancients for *that* purpoſe. For Plutarch

[g] Æn. vi. 730, 747. Sil. Ital. iii. 136.

[h] Æn. vi. 725, 728.

[i] Æn. vi 453.

tarch ſays, ὁρῶμεν τὰ ἐν ἄερι διὰ τῶν λίθων διαυγῶν καὶ κέρατων [k]; and Tertullian, *velut per corneum ſpecular obſoletior Lux rerum eſt* [l]. From which *laſt* paſſage we may obſerve, that the inſtrument whereby they let in the light, was call'd *ſpecular*; and from the *former*, that this *ſpecular* conſiſted either of *horn*, or a ſort of *ſtone*, which Pliny ſays [m], was *vitri modo pellucidus & facillime in quaſlibet tenues cruſtas finditur.* This, I hope, is proof enough to ſhew, how juſtly *cornea* ſtands here for *facile pervia*; not indeed to men, as conſiſting of *fleſh and bones*; (for neither in the *figure* nor the *letter* will this hold, and therefore this gate was not mentioned, when Æneas went down to the nether Regions;) but to *Shades*, thoſe whom Virgil after Homer [a] defines, *tenuis ſine corpore vitas cava ſub imagine formæ* [b], and of whom Ovid ſays [c], *errant exangues ſine corpore & oſſibus umbræ.* Nor ſhou'd I omit obſerving, that Virgil was happier in this his fiction, than a brother Poet of his [d]; effectually avoiding, by his contrivance, the *noiſe* of *hinges*, and yet preſerving a Gate in the Regions of *ſleep*, which the other thought ſo impoſſible to do, that he was forc'd to feign there was *no* Gate at all. Happier ſtill was our Author, and not enough

[k] De Placit. Philoſ. iii. c. 5. confer Bos in N. T.

[l] De Anima c. 53.

[m] xxvi. 22.

[a] Il. Ψ. 104.

[b] Æn. vi. 292.

[c] Met. iv. 443. confer Hom Odyſſ. λ. 218.

[d] Ovid. Met. xi. 609.

enough to be admired, when he made choice of an epithet, that was not only fitteſt for his purpoſe in point of *fiction*, as now appears; but was founded beſides in the *nature*, and anſwer'd to the *truth* of things. For *Corneus*, in the ſtile of the Claſſicks, denotes what is grown dry and hard, devoid of moiſture and elaſticity, which is juſt the *very* ſtate the human body is in as to its *ſolids*, when *death* is *eaſieſt*, or when *facilis datur exitus umbris*. Pliny's ſaying, that *cornea ſunt piſcatorum corpora* [e]; and Perſeus [f] metaphorically uſing *cornea fibra* of a man, whoſe bowels are *harden'd*, and not ſuſceptible of any compaſſionate emotions; and Catullus telling one Furius and his kindred [g], *At qui corpora ſicciora cornu, aut ſi quid magis aridum eſt, habetis*: Theſe authorities, I ſay, abundantly ſhew the ſenſe of the word: And the Learned in the medicinal art, were we to conſult them, wou'd help us out in the application made of it in this place. But not to enter into the mechaniſm of nature, in the growth and encreaſe of our ſolids, which it is likely too was not ſo well underſtood in former times, as it is now; it ſuffices to appeal to common obſervation for a proof, that *Pumex non ita æque eſt aridus atque*

[e] xxxi. 9.
[f] Sat. iv. 47. ubi Caſaub.
[g] Eleg. 23. v. 12.

atque ſenex [h], and that when the body is reduced to this *ſapleſs* ſtate, death then is not only natural [i], but of *that* very kind Penelope ſo ardently wiſhes for [k], even μαλακὸς *mollis*, *facilis*, ſoft and eaſy.

[h] Plaut. Aulul. Act. 2. Sc. 4. conſer Horat. ii. Carm. 11. v. 6.
[i] Hom. Od. υ. 60.
[k] Odyſſ. σ. 200.

§. 54. I offer not one word more in point of proof; for more cannot reaſonably be required: It is well, if too much has not already been ſaid. But, after having juſt obſerved (as relative to my ſubject, and to ſhew the fiction of a *Horny* Gate in the matter of *ſleep*, was no farfetch'd thought) that the ancients were uſed to paint *ſleep* with a *horn* in his hand [l], I proceed with a full dependence on the lenity of Criticks, to introduce again a few lines in the Poetic way, in order to make my meaning intelligible; particularly with reſpect to the explication laſt given, which I think it wou'd be blameable to leave, without affording it at leaſt this fair chance for its admiſſion. Thus they run:

[l] Sil. Ital. x. 353.

There are two Gates of ſleep, *of diff'rent name,*
For diff'rent uſe deſign'd. The firſt of theſe

Is

Is Horny call'd; *thro' whoſe wide-op'ning* pores
Releaſed ſhades, *dim-ſhining hollow forms*,
From *realms of day* to *thoſe of gloomieſt night*,
An eaſy paſſage *make. This ſtands, where* death
On ſapleſs age, ſure foe to vital warmth,
With kindeſt, calmeſt looks, obſequious waits.

§. 55. When I conſider how much ſmoother every thing runs in this laſt way of interpretation, than in the other; how much more of the Author's ingenuity it diſplays almoſt in ev'ry ſtage of enquiry; and how effectually it avoids thoſe inſurmountable difficulties, the introductory ſentence and the words *ad Cælum* create in this matter; I cannot help thinking but the Reader will join with me in giving it the preference: And the more ſo; when it makes the fiction to contain a thought, which in the eaſieſt and moſt appoſite manner connects it with the ſubject, it is intended to cloſe. For the Poet, it is evident, had been treating in this whole ſixth Book, of a *deſcent* into the other world: He had been relating with great accuracy every thing remarkable there:

He had been offering a very particular journal of a regular progreſs thro' all its apartments; diverſified with many not leſs probable, than entertaining incidents, and with many very ſuitable diſcourſes between his Hero and the inhabitants of the place: And he had kept thro'out ſo cloſe to a neat ſimplicity; ſo clear of the marvellous; ſo wide of any inconſiſtencies, with reſpect to time, place, or perſons; as gave his narrative all the air and proper dreſs of true Hiſtory. What therefore in this ſituation cou'd be deviſed more worthy of our Author, than that he ſhou'd compliment his readers with this conceſſion; "That indeed he was "under no apprehenſion of their miſ-"taking his meaning, in the repreſen-"tation he had made, as if he intend-"ed therein to ſpeak of a *real* deſcent, "and a real converſe with departed "ſpirits; ſince they knew, as well as "he, that *Corpora viva nefas ſtygia "vectare carina*[a], and that therefore "AD MANES NONNISI UMBRIS "DATUR ADITUS: But yet, as "they might, for this very reaſon, be "tempted to imagine in the other ex-"treme, that he had been entertaining "them with nothing better than a

"Ro-

[a] Æn. vi. 391. confer Homer. Odyſſ. κ. 502. λ. 155. μ. 21.

" Romance, he thought it proper to
" caution them againſt giving into this
" opinion, and to direct them to his
" real ſenſe, by reminding them of that
" eſtabliſh'd cuſtom of ſeeking for a
" converſe and intercourſe with the
" Infernal Deities (*Manes*) by *Sleep*,
" and of the ways (*Inſomnia*) in which
" that favour was vouchſafed; when
" he did not queſtion, but they wou'd
" eaſily underſtand, that he had been
" deſcribing, what of another world
" was repreſented in *imagery* and ſhew,
" ſince they were very ſenſible, the
" Gods themſelves appear'd not in thoſe
" extraordinary Influences, SED FALSA
" AD CŒLUM MITTUNT INSOM-
" NIA MANES.

§. 56. Such I take to be a true ſtate of the caſe; not, becauſe it is agreeable to my Conceptions, but by reaſon of its evident congruity to my Author's ſentiments. And therefore, tho' I am ready to anſwer the Satyriſt, *quod norim quam ſit mihi curta ſupellex*, and am conſcious beſides how little weight I can add to what ſeems otherwiſe promiſing enough; yet, as the laſt degree of an unaffected diffidence is the firſt of a juſtifiable aſſurance, I ſhall

not pretend to ſay, that I deſpair, either of this attempt's engroſſing a while the thoughts of adequate judges, or of my favourite's being in the end benefited by it. It were to think ill of what has all the appearance of truth, to go lower in my expectations: It were to caſt the fouleſt reproach on the abilities and diſpoſitions of my reader, to hope for leſs effects under ſo powerful a protection. More particularly, I cannot help thinking, it will prove a great Commendation of my opinion, and ſecure its acceptance with the publick, that it happens to contain a clear and demonſtrative proof in favour of the ingenious, juſt, and learned interpretation, the reverend Mr. Warburton has given us of the ſixth Book of the Æneis. For as every one greedily embraces the offer of a rational notion and plain inſight into what before ſeem'd without meaning and obſcure; ſo can it hardly be thought any body ſhou'd be diſpleas'd with, or averſe to admit what evidently proves his opinion to be more than probable, even the very truth. In the mean while, amidſt theſe hopes and pleaſing reflexions, I muſt not hide it to the Reader, that there is a ſmall apprehenſion that di-

diſturbs me. I am ſenſible, I have by my management taken up the Gate, we have laſt been conſidering, from its *old* foundations, and that, Æneas like, I ſeem to move with my load acroſs my ſhoulders. As I have no mind to endanger it or myſelf, by venturing to carry it any further, I ſhall here eaſe myſelf of my burden, by ſetting it ſoftly down, where I find my ground clear'd, and all things fitted for its ſituation, even *veſtibulum ante ipſum, primiſque in faucibus orci* [b]. I might have kept this to myſelf, if I had pleaſed, without running any hazard of ſpoiling the *agreement* of my edifice. For, after all, the *Horny* is but a back *Gate* to it, and leads where few will *chuſe* to take their walks. The *Ivory* one is the fair and fore-ſide of our building; which, by its inherent luſtre, diffuſes ſo much light and chearfulneſs over the whole, that none, who once ſhall become ſenſible of ſuch its excellency, will be under any great care, what becomes of the other. As to thoſe perſons, who without ever enquiring into particulars, have ventur'd to take it for granted, upon the authority of others [c], that *both* gates ſtood in the *ſame* place, and have taught

[b] Æn. vi. 273. confer Ovid. Met. x. 604, 614.

[c] Comment. in loc. & Panth. Mythic. aliique.

taught upon no better ground than this, that Sleep made his reſidence here; thoſe I ſhall not be ſurpriſed to find anxious in the caſe, and unwilling to conſent to the remove I propoſe. But I beg ſuch will be pleaſed to conſider the reaſons that have been given here[d] againſt their ſuppoſition. And in order to leſſen their fondneſs for it, they will do well to remember withal, that even the ſituation of the Gates out of the queſtion, that alone will not juſtify 'em for raiſing a palace to the God of Sleep, on the out-ſkirts of the Elyſium; when Virgil ſo expreſsly declares, that juſt *where* we place the Horny Gate, *there* reſided *Conſanguineus Lethi ſopor*; when it is plain beſides, that Gates ſerving for ſuch purpoſes, as peculiarly belong'd to ſleep, might as well be placed at a diſtance from, as near his habitation; and when, if their argument was concluſive, I cou'd prove 'em with equal juſtneſs, that ſleep reſided on or about the banks of Lethe, ſince Charon tells Æneas, as a juſt bar to his admiſſion into thoſe Regions, *Umbrarum hic locus eſt, ſomni noctiſque ſopori*[c].

[d] § 46, & 51.

[c] Æn. vi. 390.

§. 57. I

§. 57. I cannot help therefore rejecting the opinion of theſe mythologiſts, as no better than a *viſionary* dream, tho' I am ready enough to excuſe them for the old reaſon, that *yawning is catching:* A plea, I fear we might unhappily come to need ourſelves, ſhou'd we injudicially dwell any longer upon this ſubject, and not rather remove far out of the reach of it, by going over to another of a chearfuller caſt. The point, I mean, is contain'd in the *paſſage* of Æneas thro' the *Ivory* Gate. For tho' it may be imagined, that the Gate being once *fix'd* on the confines of the Elyſium, this Action of the Hero was of *courſe*, and no more than what might be expected; yet I believe, upon ſecond thoughts, we may ſee reaſon for ſome further ſuſpicions. For if the Author intended *nothing* in this particular, why did he make uſe of it? The ſubject he had laſt in hand, and to which the fiction is manifeſtly a key, did neither in itſelf, nor by the very ſuppoſition require it. It is compleat without it, as the ſtate above given ſufficiently ſhews. And I am ſure, no body will ſay, but that Æneas might have come away *without* ſuch a convenience, as well as Orpheus and others;

[f] §. 55.

others [g]; or, when it was there, might have gone *beſide* it; or, if a Gate was needful and in character, when more were mentioned, a *new* one might as eaſily have been feigned by our Author, as *ten* by Silius Italicus [h]. It is plain, therefore, that to avoid loading the Poet with ſo heavy a charge, as that of an *unmeaning* ſuperfluity, he muſt be underſtood to have aim'd at *ſomething* in this management of his. I have already unfolded *one* of its hidden ſenſes, when I conſider'd the *Ivory* Gate, as pointing to the morning [i]. I wou'd here offer *another* not leſs true, if I miſtake not. I wou'd have it conſider'd, what *ſort* of things they were, that uſed to be *ſent* thro' this Gate. Were they not *Imaginary* Beings, that never had any other exiſtence or reality; and Beings, that were meer *reſemblances* and *mimick* forms of others? What, therefore, cou'd be the Poet's intention in turning out his Hero thro' this ſame Gate; but to tell us, that he was juſt ſuch an *Ideal* creature, and juſt ſuch a *counterfeit*, or, in other words, a meer *dramatis perſona?* And this is really the truth. For ſuch a perſon as Virgil's Æneas never exiſted. The *out-*

lines

[g] Georg. iv. 485. Æn vi. 119. Ovid. Met. x. 13. Sil. Ital. xiii. 894.

[h] xiii. 531.

[i] §. 29.

lines indeed of the character are taken from the *life*, (as Livy and others ſhew) and were deſigned to give the whole the *air* of antiquity: But the filling up is the Poet's own; and conſiſts of colourings and touches, that owe their place here to other objects. I ſay *objects*; for Æneas was not intended to wear the features of *one* only, but to ſhine with ev'ry Grace *ancient* or *later* originals afforded: Tho' all this ſhou'd be underſtood to have been done with the *ſole* view of flattering AUGUSTUS. Him it was the Poet had all along and chiefly in his thoughts: His qualities of *mind* or *body*, and his moſt noted *actions* and *occurrences* of life he purpoſed to work into this maſterpiece of Invention: And therefore of Him Æneas is the *true* Repreſentative. In way of proof, was Auguſtus remarkable for being handſome[a]? Was he conſpicuous for magnanimity[b], juſtice[c], and piety? Was he famous for raiſing Cities, giving Laws, and eſtabliſhing good policy[d]: for building Temples, and adorning them; and eſpecially *that* of Apollo at Actium[e]: for celebrating *Games*, and again at Actium[f]; and inſtituting others in honour of the dead[g]: for dangers by *ſea*

[a] Æn. i. 593. iv. 141, 150.
[b] Æn. i. 264.
[c] Æn. xi. 126.
[d] Æn. i. 268. iii. 18, 131. v. 755.
[e] Æn. iii. 287. v. 706. vi. 70.
[f] Æn. iii. 208.
[g] Æn. v. 59, 239.

ſea and *land* [h]: for toils and *incidents* of war [i]: for conteſting long and warmly with a near relation [k]: for the death of his competitor, tho' not without ſtruggles [l]: and for being at laſt admitted in the number of the Gods [m]? Theſe are *all* of them to be met with in Æneas, and many *more* particulars beſides of leſſer moment: Among which I know not whether I ought to place the violent death of Cleopatra, which he was the occaſion of, as Æneas was of that of Dido; who, in like manner, to obſerve it by the way, is nothing more than a feigned and complicated character. No body, therefore, that conſiders this, can doubt of the juſtneſs of the obſervation; and eſpecially, when the Poet himſelf has been pleas'd to give us to underſtand the ſame thing in many hints up and down his Poem [a]. We may then ſafely ſay, that what Virgil promiſed in his Georgicks [b], he has fulfilled in his Æneis: And, by way of cloſe, that no place was ſo proper to drop an intimation, like that we have been conſidering, as the place where we find it; ſince Æneas was in nothing more the copy of Auguſtus, than in his *deſcent* into hell, or more properly in his *initiation* into the

h Æn. i. 8.
i Æn. i. 9. xii. 320.
k Æn. vii. 335.
l Æn. xii. 938.
m Æn. i. 263. xii. 794.
a Æn. vi. 381. collat. Aul. Gell. x. 16. ibiq; Gronov. & Æn. vi. 409. conſer Warburt. Div. Leg. v. i. p. 210. & alibi.
b iii. 46. conſer Æn. vii. 40.

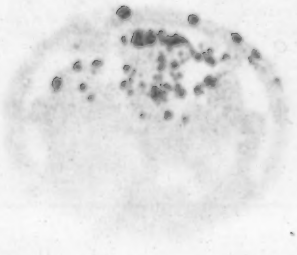
the Eleuſinian Myſteries, Suetonius telling us expreſsly, that he too had been initiated at Athens [c].

[c] Octav. c. 93.

§. 58. Thus have I wove my webb, as was required; and have therefore no further work on my hands, unleſs, Penelope like, I was to undo and begin again. But ſhe, we know, was for putting off, I for haſtening to a Concluſion. As therefore our views are different, I ſhall not imitate her example; but, in the contrary way, make here a finiſhing, by ſaying in the ſame ſtrain and language I ſet out in, and after the ſame Author

Claudite jam rivos, pueri, ſat prata biberunt.

TANTUM!

Miſtakes of the Preſs

Page 10, *Line* 12. To make him ſee, *for* making him to ſee.
P. 16 *L.* 26. Spining, *for* Spinning.
P. 22 *L.* 1. Meſſenger, *for* Meſſengers.
P. 25 *L.* 14. read, there was certainly nothing.
P. 47 *L.* 23. tir'd, *for* tried.
P. 92 *L.* 6. ad, *for* ab.